THE HISTORY OF THE CREEDS

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by

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To

THE HONOURED MEMORY
OF
DR ANDREW BURN
Dean of Salisbury

WITHOUT WHOSE ENCOURAGEMENT
THE FOLLOWING PAGES WOULD
NOT HAVE BEEN WRITTEN

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THE AUTHOR TO THE THEOLOGICAL STUDENT ON HOW TO READ HIS BOOK

St Augustine's College,
Canterbury.

My Dear Fellow-student,

You have got to take the History of the Creeds as part of your forthcoming examinations. I credit you with a higher desire than that of merely passing examinations with the least possible trouble. I hope at least that you desire to know and not merely to show or to pretend to the examiners that you do. The original editions of the books in English on this subject are upwards of twenty years old, and if they have been republished, the newer editions have not been brought up to date. In the last twenty years much fresh evidence has come to light. This book endeavours to take account of it; but it must, if possible, convince learned pundits. You have not the time nor the energy to become a specialist at present, and possibly you do not desire to do so. My advice to you, therefore, if you use this book, is this: Have a copy of the text of the Creeds open before you; that will save back references and the turning over of pages. Lietzmann, *Symbols of the Ancient Church*, Deighton Bell, 1*s*., will furnish you with nearly all that you need, and you can supplement it with Heurtley, *de Fide et Symbolo*, Parker, which you can generally get second-hand for about two shillings. Gwatkin's *Selections from Early Writers* you probably already possess. It covers less ground than Kidd's *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Church*, but gives the text as well as a translation. What is to be found in these is generally not reprinted here, but referred to under L., H., or G., with the number of the page. You have probably already been

advised by your lecturers on Church History and Liturgiology to read Brightman's Essay on *Terms of Communion and the Ministration of the Sacraments in Early Times*, and Mason's *Conceptions of the Church in Early Times* in *Essays on the Early History of the Church and the Ministry*, edited by Swete, Macmillan; both are valuable but the former is the more important of the two. Also look at the Map at the end of this book; looked at with a seeing eye it is illuminating.

With this equipment, my advice is as follows: Read the Introductory Chapter to the Apostles' Creed and Chapter II. Look at the headings of the following chapters, and see if there is anything you want in them. Chapter VI on *The East and the West* is pure Church history, but may put together for you things you have read elsewhere. The concluding chapters, VIII, XI, XII and XIII, on the Creed of Rome at various dates, give you the newest things in the book.

Appendices and notes you will probably neglect, perhaps wisely. As regards the *Nicene Creed* you can if you like leave out all the criticism of Hort and of Epiphanius. The constructive work will be found in the section called "The Alternative View".

The *Quicumque Vult* was composed by Ambrose. This portion is largely Heinrich Brewer *Das Athanasische Glaubensbekenntnis* (1909) boiled down and translated, a work very little known in England.

Finally we come to the *Communion of Saints*, which contains all the Theology there is in the book. As some day you will probably have to teach the meaning of the Creed, there is something to be said for your trying to read that through.

That is my advice. God bless you.

Yours

THE AUTHOR

PART I

THE APOSTLES' CREED

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

I. A Fictitious Pedigree. II. Outstanding Problems.

I. A FICTITIOUS PEDIGREE

THANKS to the vast erudition of Harnack and Kattenbusch a false literary pedigree has been invented for the Old Roman Creed, that is for the baptismal Creed of the Church of Rome as it stood in the fourth and fifth centuries. These German scholars have been followed by Dr Burn and Bishop Gibson, and their theory will be stated in words drawn from Burn's *Apostles' Creed* and *Introduction to the Creeds* and Gibson's *Three Creeds*.

"The history of the Old Roman Creed is best studied backwards." It "is quoted in full by two writers of the fourth century, Marcellus and Rufinus". "This gives us a fixed point from which to work in considering this history of the Creed. We know for certain the form it took before the middle of the fourth century."

After this beginning the form is given by both writers. It consisted of twelve clauses or articles, eleven if we reckon "ascended into heaven" and "sitteth at the right hand of the Father" as one instead of two. At this time it was all but identical with our present Apostles' Creed except for the later additions:

(1) Maker of heaven and earth. (2) Conceived. (3) Suffered. (4) Dead. (5) He descended into hell. (6) God...Almighty. (7) Catholic. (8) The Communion of Saints. (9) The life everlasting.

"We can trace back this Old Roman Creed in the writings of...Dionysius, Bishop *c.* A.D. 259." "There is also an inter-

esting quotation in the writings of Novatian, a priest of the Roman Church, *On the Trinity*." "At the end of the second century Tertullian...expresses the agreement of the African Church with the Church of Rome in matters of faith." "He calls the creed the watchword which the African Church shares with the Roman." "From Tertullian we learn much about the famous Gnostic Marcion. What made opposition to Marcion most difficult was the fact that he still held to the Roman Creed interpreted in his own way." "The words 'holy Church' were contained in the Roman Creed before Marcion's break with the Church in A.D. 145. Thus we trace the Old Roman Creed up to the earliest years of the second century." "The internal evidence of the creed points to the early years of the century, ± 100 A.D., as the date of its composition."

There is one further link to add. In 1916 Dom Connolly vindicated as the work of Hippolytus the *Apostolic Tradition*,[1] which is one of the components of the so-called *Egyptian Church Order*, and found in its least corrupt shape in Hauler's Verona Fragments.

Thus our literary pedigree runs:

Rufinus, Presbyter of Aquileia, *c.* 400.
Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra, *c.* 340.
Novatian, Presbyter of Rome, *c.* 260.
Dionysius, Bishop of Rome, *c.* 259.
Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus, *c.* 220.
Tertullian, Presbyter of Carthage, *c.* 180.
Marcion, Assistant Bishop (?) of Pontus, *c.* 145.

And it is claimed that in A.D. 100–120 the Roman baptismal Creed had a form identical with that of the fourth century, except that possibly in the first article it may have originally contained the word "one", which was subsequently omitted to counteract Sabellianism.

Unless we are overborne by the authority of the great names of those who have fathered or sponsored this theory, our first feeling is one of questioning amazement. The Creeds of Marcellus and Rufinus so obviously belong to the fourth century or

1 *Texts and Studies*, VIII. No. 4.

later, that it seems incredible that they can be survivals from the early years of the second. It is like being assured that a Norman cathedral was built in Saxon times; before ever we examine the detail it appears too spacious for its assigned period.

In the earliest days of Christianity it seems clear that the baptismal confession consisted of one clause only: "I believe in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Lord", or "our Lord", or of some formula even briefer than that. Later this was expanded to three clauses: "I believe in God the Father almighty; and in Jesus Christ His (only) Son our Lord; and in the Holy Ghost"; and by the middle of the first century the form was at most no fuller than this.[1] The theory, therefore, demands that in Rome in the next seventy-five years the baptismal Creed grew from three to eleven clauses, and that it then remained unaltered for upwards of two centuries and a half. Each separate portion of this hypothesis is astonishing; the rapidity of its early growth, and its subsequent period of rest or stagnation; taken together the improbability involved seems immense.

And there is nothing to account for this apparent reversal of Roman psychology. Creeds might well grow and grow rapidly in times of theological controversy. New clauses might readily be added as protests or safeguards against the assaults of pressing heresies. But heretical attacks in Rome did not begin until this time of rapid growth was over; "the creed", we are told, "was composed during a time of peace, and became a rule of faith without dispute".

Investigation only deepens our wonder. Thanks to the researches of the last twenty years we now know much more about Creeds of the last half of the second century. The publication of the *Epistola Apostolorum*, the *Dêr Balyzeh Papyrus*, and the *Epideixis*, or *Demonstration of Apostolic Preaching* of Irenaeus,[2] has thrown new light on this problem. In the first and second of these and in the shorter Creed of the combined Ethiopic, Coptic, and Arabic versions of the *Egyptian Church Order* there are five clauses only, and six if we reconstruct the orthodox

1 See Chapter II. 2 See Chapter III.

Creed from the Marcosian parody given by Irenaeus. Even if we go beyond this figure in trying to discover Irenaeus's own Creed from his *Epideixis* we shall not dare, in the face of this evidence, to allow it more than eight or nine clauses. Is it really possible that some fifty years earlier in Rome, where, owing to the sort of conservatism demanded by the second half of the theory, Creeds, we should think, would tend to grow less rapidly than in the East, the baptismal Creed possessed eleven clauses?

And if we fix our attention on special members or articles of this religious fabric we seem to recognize the unmistakable pattern or moulding of a later age. In no Creed-form earlier than the fourth century (except in that of Hippolytus, which shows signs of being worked over by a later hand) do we come across "of the Holy Ghost and the virgin Mary", or "under Pontius Pilate". No doubt the facts were taught; they were comprised in the common doctrine and discipline of Christendom known as the "Rule of Faith", but this "Rule of Faith", whether stated by Origen or Irenaeus or Tertullian, contained very much more matter than was ever found in the contemporary Creed; on this point Harnack is insistent.[1] This assumption that the "Rule of Faith" can be treated as equivalent to the "Symbol" or Creed is one of the main flaws in the argument, and similar to it is the assumption that the *tessera*, to which Tertullian refers, is the military *tessera* or watchword, which, no doubt, would be identical throughout the army. Tertullian is, in fact, referring not to the *tessera militaris* but to the *tessera hospitalitatis*, the coin or token divided between friends of which each had a part which fitted with the other. His metaphor, therefore, asserts identity of substance but *diversity of form*.[2] Nor does he maintain that the Church of Rome was in doctrinal agreement with the Churches of Africa specially or exclusively. "Let us see", he says, "what (the Church of Rome) has learnt, what it has taught, what are its points of agreement (*contesserarit*)[3] with the

1 See Chapter II, *sub fin.*

2 *de Praescr.* 20, shows the meaning to be attached to the word in 36.

3 *Contesserarit* is the reading commonly accepted, but perhaps we should read *contestetur* (see Bethune-Baker, *J. T. S.* VI. p. 625), in which case the whole argument for identity of Creed falls to the ground.

Church of Africa *also*" (i.e. as well as with the Churches of Achaia, Macedonia, and Asia, which he has just mentioned).[1] His Rule of Faith, therefore, would give the common belief of Christendom and not the specific Creed of Rome. But besides an anachronism and a misinterpretation the theory contains the logical fallacy known as a petitio principii; it assumes the very point to be proved, namely that the Creeds of Rufinus and Marcellus in combination give the Roman Creed, and then employs this result as a standard; whereas it is only by knowing what was the precise shape of the Roman Creed in the fourth century that we can tell whether Marcellus or Rufinus is quoting it or not.

RUFINUS[2] nowhere claims to be giving the Creed of Rome, but that of his own Church, Aquileia. He tells us that certain *additions* had been made in the Creed of Aquileia and what these were, but he nowhere says that there were no other differences. It follows that we are not warranted in assuming that in all other respects the Creed of Aquileia was identical with the Creed of Rome; we could only say this if we knew the Creed of Rome from other sources; which is precisely the point we have to discover. As a matter of fact the assumption is proved to be false even by the evidence before us. That the Creed of Rufinus differs in no unnamed respect from the Creed of Rome is an universal proposition; if therefore we can show but one particular instance to the contrary it is confuted. And there are at least two such differences. Rufinus has *in* with the ablative in the expression of belief in each Person of the Blessed Trinity; Marcellus, Novatian, Dionysius, Tertullian, all give the accusative. And Rufinus has *Unico Filio Ejus* instead of τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, *Filium Ejus unicum*, with Marcellus, which is in fact the Roman order. So the Creed of Aquileia, apart from its additional matter, differs from the Creed of Rome in at least two respects, and we have no means of determining from the other authorities cited how many more differences there may have been. Thus the authority of Rufinus for the text of the Creed of Rome fades away.

Now let us take MARCELLUS.[3] The text of Epiphanius, in which

1 *de Praescr.* 36. 2 See Chapter VII. 3 See Chapter IX.

Marcellus's Creed occurs, rests on two bad MSS, so corruption is possible. But (1) just so far as we suppose corruption in the Creed of Marcellus we weaken its authority as a witness in both directions for and against; and (2) we must not suppose corruption in a particular case unless we can justify our supposition. We cannot correct the text by the standard of what we imagine the Roman Creed to have been, and then use this corrected text as a witness to that standard, without committing the same logical fault. And if we may not assume corruption, still less may we assume inaccuracy on the part of Marcellus. Marcellus gives the Creed in a letter to Pope Julius written before he left Rome, as part of his defence against Arian accusers who failed to appear. "I thought it necessary", he says, "to deposit with you my faith in writing, having written it with all truth with my own hand—which I learnt and was taught out of the Holy Scriptures." And again: "Having received this faith from the Holy Scriptures, and been taught it by my ancestors in God, I both preach it in the Church of God, and have now written it to you, keeping a copy of this (writing) for myself".[1] His Creed is not therefore a mixed Roman-Ancyran form, it is either Roman or Ancyran. He does not claim to be giving the Creed of Rome; nor does he say he learnt the Creed which he gives from Pope Julius, but suggests, even if he does not definitely assert, that his Creed is that of his own diocese; nor does Julius in his letter to the Arian accusers of Marcellus ever hint that Marcellus had adopted the Roman Creed. There is therefore strong ground for holding that Marcellus' Creed is not the Creed of Rome. Nor is it. It has no word "Father" in the first clause, an omission which can be paralleled in other religious formulas in Asia Minor; it says "*whence* he cometh to judge quick and dead" and the word "whence", which in Greek cannot be confused with "thence", the Roman word, is only known to occur in Creeds in Galatia and Cappadocia; and it has "eternal life" at the end, which was not in the Roman Creed at this date, but was common in Eastern Creeds.[2]

1 Epiph. *adv. Haer.* lxxii.

2 On the Creed of Marcellus see Chapter IX.

The whole theory, it will be noticed, hangs on these two Creeds, the one Aquileian, differing in innumerable respects from that of Rome, but no doubt having some general resemblance to it; the other almost certainly Ancyran, and certainly possessing non-Roman features. And so, having no fixed point of suspension, the theory falls down.

Nevertheless, it may be worth while to look at some of the subordinate links in the chain to see if they are not independently supported.

NOVATIAN[1] is quoting from the Rule of the Truth. There is no doubt that he holds the common Catholic faith, but it is impossible to learn from his language the text of the Roman Creed. Thus he says: "The Rule of the Truth demands that first of all we should believe in God the Father and *Lord* almighty, that is, the most perfect *Creator of all things*". "The same Rule of the Truth teaches us to believe after the Father in the *Son of God*, *Christ Jesus*, *our Lord God*, but *Son of God*." Unless we knew beforehand the text of the Roman Creed we could not tell whether it contained in the first clause *Dominum* or *rerum omnium Conditorem* or not, or in the second *Filium Dei* or *Filium Ejus*, *Christum Jesum* or *Jesum Christum*, *Dominum Deum nostrum* or simply *Dominum nostrum*. That is, we have at most allusions to a Creed the text of which we do not know and cannot from this language discover. Nor do we know from Novatian how much the Roman Creed included; we cannot, for instance, assert that it contained the clause "born of the Holy Spirit and of the virgin Mary" merely because Novatian says: "We do not recognize such a Christ as bore within Himself nothing of our body, having received nothing from Mary, for fear that He may not have come to us at all, in that He did not present Himself in His own substance when He appeared".

The case of DIONYSIUS[1] looks more hopeful. His letter to his namesake of Alexandria says: "We ought to maintain the faith in God the Father almighty, and in Christ Jesus His Son, and in the Holy Ghost"; but this is too short to prove more than a three-clause formula, and the order εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα instead

1 See Chapter XIII.

of the Roman order *in Spiritum Sanctum* prevents us laying stress on the exactness of the wording, so that we cannot say whether the Roman Creed had "Jesus Christ" or "Christ Jesus". And this is all that he gives.

HIPPOLYTUS[1] occupied so ambiguous a position that there is no certainty that he employed the same Creed as the Bishop of Rome, and his formula contains not only the clauses "who was born of the Holy Ghost and Mary the virgin", and "crucified under Pontius Pilate", which, as we have said, make us suspect a later recension, but *resurrexit die tertia* vivus *a mortuis*, where the order of the Roman Creed, when it contained the clause, was *tertia die resurrexit* without *vivus*, and *sedit*, sat, instead of *sedet*, sitteth.

TERTULLIAN is citing the Rule of Faith, and if he quotes from the Creed at all it is from the Creed of Africa, which he does not say was identical with the Creed of Rome, but by his metaphor of the *tessera hospitalitatis* hints at the contrary; and what he says of the Gnostics is that they *claimed* to have the same *faith*, not the same Creed, as the orthodox. *Si subtiliter temptes (eos) per ambiguitates bilingues communem fidem adfirmant*,[2] "if you try them with subtle questions, by the ambiguities of their double tongue they *affirm* a community of *faith* with yourself", where the whole suggestion of the passage is that such a claim was false. And similarly of Marcion: "(Our opponents) *say* that Marcion has not so much innovated on the Rule (of Faith) by his separation of the law and the gospel, as restored it where it has been adulterated (*non tam innovasse regulam...quam retro adulteratam recurasse*)".[3] As for the words "holy church" to which Dr Burn alludes, Zahn says, "it follows...that the words 'a holy Church' were contained in Marcion's Baptismal Confession", that is, the Creed of Pontus, but not necessarily therefore, as Zahn and Burn infer, "in the Roman Creed of A.D. 145".

The want of fixity in the head of the chain cannot therefore be supplied from any of the lower links. At each point we need to criticize the allusion by the standard of a known and definite

1 See Appendix to Chapter XIV.
2 *adv. Valent.* 1.
3 *adv. Marc.* 20.

text which is so far wanting; our preference for a particular phrase or order of words first presupposes a knowledge which we do not possess, and in the end affirms that this knowledge is derived from the text which we produce and criticize. That procedure is known in logic as a petitio principii.

But it is nevertheless true that we do know, within the closest limits of possible error, the text of the Roman Creed in the latter half of the fourth century; not, however, from Rufinus nor from Marcellus.[1]

The Creed of Aquileia is only one among a large number of nearly contemporary Creeds stretching over Spain, Gaul, and Northern Italy. If we assume, as we well may, that the form of these was either influenced by that of Rome, or that inversely they helped to bring it into the shape it took in this period, it is obviously the common matter in these Creeds that would show such influence or exercise it, the differences being due to local causes. And we observe that these Creeds are very much alike, and that the greatest difference from the common nucleus is found in Spanish Creeds, geographically furthest removed from Rome, and in the Creed of Aquileia, that is of Rufinus, which owing to its situation was most exposed to influence from the East, either by sea up the Adriatic or by land from the Balkans. Certain phrases, moreover, in the Aquileian Creed—"invisible, impassible" in the first clause, "descended into hell" in the second member, almost certainly have an Eastern origin. So we may take it as a working hypothesis that the Creed of Rome is pretty closely represented in the common matter of the Western European Creeds.

But we also know the Creed of Milan as used by Ambrose from the large number of quotations from it in the works of St Augustine. There are of course difficulties in extracting the actual form from sermons or treatises, and St Augustine himself warned his audience on one occasion that he was not giving the precise words imparted to the catechumens; but his deliberate variations are very small, and by comparing a large number of instances they tend to cancel out.

1 See Chapter VIII.

The result of this method is to give us a Creed in almost complete verbal agreement with the common nucleus of the Western European Creeds. Now Ambrose, before he became a bishop, was a Roman official trained at Rome, and he shows by his letter to Pope Siricius that he had great admiration for the Church of Rome for maintaining its Creed inviolate. Moreover, he succeeded the Arian Auxentius who had imported into Milan his own Cappadocian Creed. What more likely, therefore, than that Ambrose, finding the orthodox Milanese tradition broken through, should himself have imported the Creed of Rome? This is the best account we can give of the close agreement of the Creed of Milan with the common matter of the Western European Creeds, and each supposition supports the other.

But there is also a sermon on the Creed by a bishop whose diocese was in the neighbourhood of Aquileia, but neither at Turin nor at Ravenna (as we see by comparing the Creeds of those places), which claims to give the Roman Creed word for word. Its date is somewhere about the end of the fourth century, and its title *Explanatio Symboli ad Initiandos*. Here again there are some difficulties of extraction, as the best text is in the form of lecture notes by a pupil, and we cannot recover from it the whole Creed. But the noticeable feature is that, after making some slight allowances, the text so recovered agrees verbally both with the "common nucleus" and with the Creed of Milan as drawn from the sermons and tradition of St Augustine. Here then we have three independent witnesses to an all but identical text, and a distinct claim, warranted by this agreement, that the Creed is that of the Church of Rome, while, even if, as seems probable, the *Explanatio* were not the work of Ambrose, the identity of text with that derived from St Augustine would enable us to fix the date of the Creed at *c.* 380.

Once more, in 448 Leo composed his Tome and in it he gives extracts from the Creed of Rome. Moreover, he preached a large number of sermons, and from these, as from the sermons of St Augustine, we can recover other portions of his Creed. Now when we compare these four authorities together, certain rare

and occasional variations cancel out, and the possible errors in the text are limited to such minute points as whether we should read *ex Maria* or *et Maria*, *ad* or *in*, *caelos* or *caelum*.

It seems that it is by some strange and unaccountable oversight that no single one of these four concurrent authorities figures at the head of the literary pedigree.

We will content ourselves by giving some few examples of how the standard text thus obtained justifies our previous remarks on the links in this genealogical chain.

Art. 1.

Leo: in Deum Patrem omnipotentem.
Rufinus: in Deo Patre omnipotente.
Marcellus: εἰς Θεὸν παντοκράτορα.
Novatian: in Deum Patrem et *Dominum* omnipotentem.
Dionysius: εἰς Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα.
Hippolytus (wanting in the Hauler Fragments).
Tertullian: in *unicum* Deum omnipotentem *mundi Conditorem* (*de Virg. vel.* 1);
unum Deum *mundi Conditorem* (*de Praescr.* 13);
unum Deum, *Creatorem universitatis* (*ib.* 36).

Neither Novatian nor Tertullian is quoting from the Creed but from the Rule of Faith, and both introduce words which formed no part of the Roman Creed.

Art. 2.

Leo: in Jesum Christum, Filium Ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum.
Rufinus: in *Christo Jesu*, *unico Filio Ejus*, Domino nostro.
Marcellus: εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν Υἱὸν Αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν.
Novatian: in Filium *Dei*, *Christum Jesum*, Dominum *Deum* nostrum.
Dionysius: εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν Υἱὸν Αὐτοῦ.
Hippolytus: in *Christum Jesum*, Filium *Dei*.
Tertullian: Filium Ejus Jesum Christum (*de Virg. vel.* 1);
Christum Jesum (*de Praescr.* 36);
Filium *Dei*...Jesum Christum (*adv. Prax.* 2).

Here the preponderance of authority might seem to be in favour of the order "Christ Jesus", but Leo with his supporters is worth far more than any individual writer. The testimony of Dionysius can be discounted, as he in common with Marcellus also has the non-Roman order τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. The phrase from

Novatian which quotes a formula and not merely states the doctrine has not been given: it runs *Regulam veritatis per omnia custodientes, Deo gratias agere debemus per* Jesum Christum, Filium Ejus, Dominum nostrum (*de Cibis Judaicis*, c. 7, *sub fin.*). But almost as strange as the omission of Leo is the omission of Clement, who was Bishop of Rome about A.D. 90 to 99, that is to say during the period when, according to the theory, the Roman Creed was in process of formation from the threefold to the elevenfold form which it is supposed to have assumed by the beginning of the following century. Except in two extracts both reminiscent of St Paul, Clement always has throughout his epistle the order *Jesus Christus*, and this order is also preserved in the spurious homily of a later date which goes by his name, and may be also Roman.

II. Outstanding Problems

We have said enough to show in brief compass the baselessness of this fictitious genealogy; details will be given in the earlier chapters of this part, in which we shall also endeavour to provide a basis for a more logical and historical theory. There remain three outstanding problems. The first is to determine the form taken by the Roman Creed between the middle of the first century and the end of the first quarter of the third. The conservatism of the Roman temper would naturally tend to postpone development to a later date than that of the early Eastern Creeds to which we have alluded. The form must stand between the threefold formula of baptism already given, and the fuller form obtained from Ambrose and Leo. It would probably need the pressure of heresy to cause so large a change in a formula sacred both by time and by religion. And the result would probably resemble the Eastern Creeds of a somewhat earlier time, at least as regards length and fullness. Even with these guides, the problem is difficult, but it will be our endeavour to show that it is not insoluble.

The second problem is, when and under what influences did

1 See Chapter XII.

this intermediate form develop into that which we find in the fourth century?

And the third is how this later form which persisted in the fifth century came to be changed into the Apostles' Creed as we know it at present. This problem, owing to the absence of evidence, cannot be fully solved, and the most that can be done is to indicate what are the limiting conditions under which a solution must be sought, and to propose a tentative hypothesis which shall satisfy them. These three problems will occupy the closing chapters (XII–XIV) of this section of the book.

Chapter II

CREEDS AND THEIR CLASSIFICATION

I. Types of Creeds. II. The Simple Formula. III. The Triple Formula. IV. The "Rule of Faith".

I. Types of Creeds

There are three main types of Creeds: (1) baptismal Creeds; (2) conciliar Creeds; and (3) personal Creeds or professions of faith.

(1) Baptismal Creeds are formulas of faith imposed by local Churches on candidates for baptism. An example of these would be our own so-called Apostles' Creed; though in the Church of England it is also used on other occasions than baptism, and with slight variations of wording, namely, at Morning and Evening Prayer, in the Catechism, and in the Order for the Visitation of the Sick. Baptismal Creeds may be further divided into (*a*) Declaratory, the statement of faith made by the candidate, beginning "I believe", and (*b*) Interrogatory, that is, the collection of questions put to him by the minister in the rite of baptism, beginning "Dost thou believe?" In Rome in early times these questions constituted the actual formula of baptism without any such words as "N. is baptized", or "I baptize thee", the water being administered after each of the three replies "I believe" to the three questions corresponding to the Three Persons of the Trinity.[1]

1 Brightman in Swete's *Essays*, p. 345. The evidence is derived from the form given in the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries compared with Hauler's Verona Fragments of the Egyptian Church Order, *Texts and Studies*, VIII. 4, p. 185. The baptismal formula is also omitted in the description of baptism in *de Sacramentis* ii. 7; in the Stowe Missal; and in a ninth-century Sacramentary (Cod. Colbert No. 1348) published by Martène, Ordo v, vol. i, p. 86. I have followed Dr Brightman as being an expert from whose judgement one would not willingly dissent, but I do not regard the evidence as conclusive. Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, p. 216 n., suggests that the formula was omitted because it was presumed that the minister would know it by heart. The general argument is sufficiently strong to stand if this support is withdrawn.

(2) Conciliar Creeds were made by Councils of bishops as tests of orthodoxy, and intended to have an universal range. They were in the main drawn from baptismal Creeds, though new clauses might be added against particular heresies. Such was the Creed of the Council of Nicaea in 325, which subsequent conciliar Creeds imitated or used as a basis. When such a Creed was compiled by a single individual we may infer that it would be influenced by the Creed of his see or native place, and when the bishops of a particular district were in a large majority at a synod, the Creed would naturally reflect in some measure the local usage; and in consequence, in cases of doubt, conciliar Creeds may afford some guidance in determining the probable wording of a local baptismal Creed, while the absence of a particular phrase from a conciliar Creed would argue that it was not common at that date in the baptismal Creeds of the district from which the members of the Council were drawn.

(3) Personal professions of faith were never entirely original, but along with the compiler's own additions or enlargements embodied standardized phrases taken from one or other of the two former classes. Thus both conciliar and personal Creeds take us back to baptismal Creeds.

The Book of Common Prayer gives us no example of a personal Creed; the *Quicumque vult*, which is sometimes quoted as such, being rather a hymn, like the *Te Deum*, than a Creed.

II. The Simple Formula

From about the middle of the second century baptismal Creeds had three divisions, but it would seem that in the earliest times all that was required of the candidate was some form of profession of faith

in Jesus Christ:

Acts ii. 38, "Repent ye and be baptized...in the name of Jesus Christ...; and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost";

Acts x. 48, "He commanded them to be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ";

Cp. Acts viii. 12, "When they believed Philip preaching good tidings concerning the kingdom of God and the name of Jesus Christ";

or *in the Lord Jesus*:

Acts viii. 16, "They had been baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus";

Acts xix. 5, "They were baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus";

Cp. Acts xvi. 31, 33, "Believe on the Lord Jesus and thou shalt be saved...and he...was baptized";

1 Cor. xii. 3, "No man speaking in the Spirit of God saith Jesus is anathema; and no man can say Jesus is Lord but in the Holy Spirit (ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ)";

Phil. ii. 11, "That every tongue should confess that Jesus is Lord to the glory of God the Father";

or *in Jesus, the Son of God*:

Heb. iv. 14, "Having then a great high priest...Jesus the Son of God, let us hold fast our confession";

1 John iv. 15, "Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God";

1 John v. 5, "He that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God".

St Paul's argument in 1 Cor. i. 13, "Was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptized into the name of Paul?" seems to be based on the use of a single and not a triple formula; and ῥῆμα in Rom. x. 8, 9: "The *word* is nigh thee in thy mouth and in thy heart: that is the *word* of faith which we preach; because if thou shalt confess with thy mouth Jesus as Lord, and shalt believe in thy heart that God raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved", and in Eph. v. 25, 26: "Christ loved the Church, and gave himself up for it; that he might sanctify it, having cleansed it by the washing of water with the *word*", point the same way.

That some confession of faith was required before baptism is seen from the early glosses upon the baptism of the eunuch (Acts viii. 37), which insert either wholly or in part: "And Philip said, If thou believest with all thy heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God";[1] and that this took the form of question and answer is suggested by 1 Pet. iii. 21: "Baptism, not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the interrogation of a good conscience toward God".

1 See Robinson, *St Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians*, pp. 206, 207 n.; *J. T. S.* VII. pp. 193, 199.

III. The Triple Formula

How widespread was the use of the simple formula, or how long it persisted, we cannot determine; but by about the middle of the second century a threefold formula appears to have been established both in the East and in the West, though individuals objected to it as late as the middle of the third century, and some refused to use it even at the end of the fourth.[1]

But we must not take it for granted that the threefold formula always and everywhere ran, "In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost", as given in Matt. xxviii. 19. It would seem more probable that at least in Rome it ran, "In God, in Jesus Christ, in the Spirit the Holy". St Matthew's Gospel was not known in Rome as early as the Gospels of St Mark and St Luke, and the threefold formula in it was intended to be rather an expanded declaration of the name and character of God than a liturgical rule.

Outside the Gospels a trinitarian formula, or something like it, occurs in the New Testament some seventy times or more, for the most part in passages of not more than three or four verses. The nearest approach to that given in St Matthew is:

1 J. iv. 13, 14, "He hath given us of his *Spirit*. And we...bear witness that the *Father* hath sent the *Son* to be the Saviour of the world".

Here there might seem to be a reference to the baptismal confession; but this parallel is unique. Other instances are:

Acts xx. 21–23, "Repentance toward *God* and faith toward *our Lord Jesus (Christ)*...the *Holy Ghost* testifieth..."

Rom. xv. 30, "I beseech you, brethren, by *our Lord Jesus Christ*, and by the love of the *Spirit*, that ye strive together with me in your prayers to *God* for me";

1 Cor. ii. 2–5, "*Jesus Christ*, and him crucified...in demonstration of the *Spirit*... in the power of *God*";

1 Cp. Cyprian, *Ep.* lxxiii (to Jubaianus), 18; Pseudo-Cyprian, *de Rebaptismate*, 1, 6, 7; *Apostolic Canons*, 50, which commands the use of the triple formula; Ambrose, *de Spiritu Sancto*, i. 3, which defends the validity of the shorter formula.

1 Cor. vi. 11, "But ye were washed, but ye were sanctified, but ye were justified in the name of (our) *Lord Jesus Christ*, and in the *Spirit* of ou *God*";

2 Cor. i. 21, 22, "He that stablisheth us with you into *Christ*, and anointed us, is *God*; who also sealed us, and gave (us) the earnest of the *Spirit* in our hearts";

2 Cor. iii. 3, "An epistle of *Christ*...written...with the *Spirit* of the living *God*";

2 Cor. v. 5–8, "He that wrought us for this very thing is *God*, who can give unto us the earnest of the *Spirit*...at home with the *Lord*";

2 Cor. xiii. 14, "The grace of the *Lord Jesus Christ*, and the love of *God*, and the participation in the *Holy Spirit* (ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος)";

Gal. iii. 11–14, "That no man is justified by the law in the sight of *God* is evident...the blessing of Abraham in *Christ Jesus*; that we might receive the promise of the *Spirit*";

Gal. v. 21–24, "The kingdom of *God*...the fruit of the *Spirit*... they that are of *Christ Jesus*";

Eph. ii. 20–22, "*Christ Jesus* himself being the chief corner-stone ...an habitation of *God* in the *Spirit*";

Eph. iv. 4–6, "One body, and one *Spirit*...one *Lord*, one faith, one baptism, one *God* and *Father* of all";

1 Thess. i. 2–5, "We give thanks to *God*...remembering...your ...patience of hope in our *Lord Jesus Christ*, before our *God* and *Father*; knowing...how that our gospel came...unto you... in (the) *Holy Ghost*";

1 Thess. iv. 2–8, "Ye know what charge we give you through the *Lord Jesus*. For this is the will of *God*...he rejecteth...*God* who giveth his *Holy Spirit*";

Titus iii. 4–6, "When the kindness of *God* our Saviour...appeared ...he saved us through the washing of regeneration and renewing of (the) *Holy Ghost*, which he poured out upon us...through *Jesus Christ* our Saviour";

Heb. vi. 1–4, "The first principles of *Christ*...faith towards *God* ...made partakers of (the) *Holy Ghost*";

Heb. ix. 14, "The blood of *Christ*, who through (the) eternal *Spirit* offered Himself...unto *God*";

1 Pet. i. 2, "According to the foreknowledge of *God the Father* in sanctification of (the) *Spirit* unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of *Jesus Christ*";

1 Pet. iv. 14, "If ye are reproached for the name of *Christ*...the *Spirit* of *God* resteth upon you";

1 J. iii. 21–24, "Confidence towards *God*...that we should believe in the name of his *Son Jesus Christ*...we know that he abideth in us, by the *Spirit* he gave us";

1 J. iv. 2, "Hereby know ye the *Spirit* of *God*: every spirit which confesseth that *Jesus Christ* is come in the flesh is of *God*";

Jude 20, 21, "Praying in (the) *Holy Spirit*, keep yourselves in the love of *God*, looking for the mercy of our *Lord Jesus Christ*".

The repeated occurrence of the formula "God, Jesus (Christ) (our Lord), Holy Spirit" [(τὸ) πνεῦμα (τὸ) ἅγιον] together with the evidence of the priority of the simple formula "Jesus (Christ) (our Lord)" suggests that the triple is an expansion of the earlier simple formula, and outside the New Testament this formula rather than the Matthaean "Father, Son, Holy Spirit", is confirmed by

Clement, 16, "The sceptre (of the majesty) of *God*, even *our Lord Jesus Christ*...according as the *Holy Spirit* (τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον) spake";

Clement, 42, "The Apostles received the Gospel for us from *the Lord Jesus Christ*; *Jesus Christ* was sent forth from *God*...Having been fully assured through the resurrection of *our Lord Jesus Christ*, and confirmed in the word of *God*, with full assurance of the *Holy Spirit* (πνεύματος ἁγίου) they went forth" (G. p. 8);

Clement, 46, "Have we not one *God* and one *Christ* and one *Spirit* of grace?"

Clement, 58, "As *God* liveth, and the *Lord Jesus Christ* (liveth) and the *Holy Spirit* (τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον)";

Ignatius, *Eph.* ix, "Ye are stones of a temple who were prepared beforehand for a building of *God the Father*, being hoisted up to the heights by means of the engine of *Jesus Christ*, which is the Cross, and using for a rope the *Holy Spirit* (τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ)";

Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 61, "In the Name of *God the Father and Lord of the universe* and of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*, and of the *Holy Spirit* (πνεύματος ἁγίου) do they then receive the washing in water" (G. p. 50; L. p. 3);

"There is named over him who will be regenerated...the name of *God the Father and Lord of the universe*...and in the name of *Jesus Christ* who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and in the name of the *Holy Spirit* (πνεύματος ἁγίου)...he who is being illuminated is washed" (L. p. 3);

Origen, *in* 1 *Cor.* vii. 5 (*J.T.S.* IX. p. 502), "The bread...over which has been invoked the name of *God* and of *Christ* and of *the Holy Spirit*"; cp. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* iii. 3, "The water when it receives the invocation of (the) *Holy Spirit* and of *Christ* and of (the) *Father*".

That the baptismal Creed of Rome was not based on the Matthaean formula is shown by the consistent use of *in Spiritum Sanctum*, whereas in St Matthew the adjective precedes the

substantive. Accordingly we may suppose that originally the question ran "Dost thou believe in Jesus Christ (our Lord)?" and later this was amplified into "Dost thou believe in God?" "Dost thou believe in Jesus Christ (our Lord)?" "Dost thou believe in the Holy Spirit?" And subsequently, whether by the influence of St Matthew's Gospel or for some other reason, this was further enlarged into "Dost thou believe in God the Father (almighty)?" "Dost thou believe in Jesus Christ (our Lord) (His Son) (only-begotten)?" "Dost thou believe in the Holy Spirit?"—the new matter in each case following the old.

Outside the metropolitical jurisdiction of the Roman see the threefold name of God appears to have been invoked upon the baptized in addition to the series of questions addressed to him.

Evidence of this practice is given

for *Egypt*:

Origen *in Ioan.* vi. 33, "The washing of water...is no less in itself to him who yields himself to the divine power of the *invocations of the adorable Trinity*, the beginning and source of divine gifts" (cp. *in Ioan.* iii. 5);

for *Asia Minor*:

Justin Martyr, already quoted;

Firmilian (Cyprian, *Ep.* lxxv. 9), "That, moreover, is absurd, that they do not think it is to be asked who was he who administered the baptism, on the ground that he who has been baptized could have obtained grace by the *invocation of the trinity of the names of the Father*, and of *the Son*, and of the *Holy Spirit*" (cp. the Creed of the Marcosians given on p. 35[1]);

for *Lyons* and *Gaul*, the Christianity of which was derived from Asia Minor:

Irenaeus, *Frag.* xxxiii (ed. Harvey, II. p. 497), "It was not for nothing that Naaman of old, being a leper, was cleansed when he was baptized, but as an indication for us. For when we are lepers in our sins, we are cleansed from our old transgressions by the holy water and the *invocation of the Lord*";

for *Africa*:

Tertullian, *adv. Prax.* 26, "It is not once only but thrice that we

1 Cp. *Didascalia*, III. 12, § 3; *Clem. Recogn.* III. 67; IX. 11; *Clem. Hom.* IX. 19.

are immersed into the three Persons *at each several mention of Their names*".[1]

IV. The Rule of Faith

Some reference must be made to the "Rule of Faith" or of "the Truth", as it has too often been assumed that the baptismal Creed of a particular place could be obtained by selecting phrases quoted by a theological writer as belonging to it:

"One great phrase, repeated with variations, resounds through all the writings of the period (i.e. the early period).... It is the Rule of Faith, the *regula veritatis*....All Christians were to be guided by the Rule. Attempts have been made to interpret the phrase in a narrow fashion. The *regula veritatis* has been held to mean the baptismal creed. Undoubtedly the baptismal formula,...and the baptismal creeds of various churches, into which that formula naturally expanded, were never far from the thoughts of the writer who used the phrase; but the baptismal creed and the *regula veritatis* are not convertible terms.[2]"

"(1) The fact that single sentences seem to be echoes of the symbol (i.e. the baptismal creed) or tally with it offers no guarantee that they themselves derive from one symbol. Before any symbol existed God was παντοκράτωρ; Jesus Christ was called 'the Only Begotten Son, our Lord'; he was proclaimed as 'born of the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary', as having suffered under Pontius Pilate, and as coming to judge the quick and the dead.

(2) Formula-like sentences, if not obviously a part of the baptismal formula, need not necessarily have originated in a baptismal confession, even though they be identical with the sentences of that confession. The oldest tradition gave a fixed or, as the case may be, a more fixed shape to 'The Faith', not only in the form of a baptismal confession and for the purposes of baptism, but also in (*a*) liturgical sentences, (*b*) formulas of exorcism, (*c*) precepts concerning faith and morals, and (*d*) historical summaries, and that, too, with a view to the most diverse objects (instruction, apologetics, polemics, religious worship)....

(3) In particular, the preaching of Christ, apart from the detailed form which it received in the Gospels, also underwent longer or shorter epitomisations....

(4) Out of the great number of predicates attached to God, Christ, and the Spirit, some which were in general use very soon came to the front, apart from the detailed Trinitarian confession. Those chiefly used

1 Cp. *de Bapt.* 2, 13; Pseudo-Cyprian, *de Rebapt.* 5, 7.

2 Mason, in Swete's *Essays*, p. 51.

in connection with God are, εἷς, παντοκράτωρ, πατήρ, δεσπότης, and Creator, with additions; with Christ, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ κύριος, σωτήρ, διδάσκαλος, μονογενής, εἷς, λόγος; with the Holy Ghost, ἅγιος, προφητικός. In the same way, out of the great number of blessings which the Christian faith affords, some are named with special frequency, such as ἄφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν (with or without mention of baptism), ζωή (αἰώνιος), ἀνάστασις (with or without τῆς σαρκός), γνῶσις, ἀφθαρσία, etc. Everything thus variously produced was regarded as 'the Faith', 'the Rule of Faith', 'Kerugma' (or 'Proclamation'), 'Truth', 'Rule of Truth'....

A consideration of the facts contained in the foregoing, the truth of which no scholar will question, must make us very cautious in arguing from formula-like confessional sentences to a formulated baptismal confession in three parts."[1]

So also Ammundsen:

The Rule of Truth (in Irenaeus) *primarily* is not an institution, a formula, or a book; it is Christianity itself, the genuine apostolic Christianity.... *The Truth*—which is the rule—...comprehends the whole revelation.... Its main points are: the creation—the dispensation and prophecies in the Old Testament—Christ as the second Adam, His supernatural birth, His words, His death, His resurrection and ascension—the Holy Ghost—the Church—the Christian Ethics—the Eschatology. (*J.T.S.* XIII, p. 578.)

Let us take two illustrations.

Novatian[2] writes: "The Rule of Truth demands that first of all we believe in God the Father and Lord almighty....The same Rule of Truth teaches us to believe after the Father also in the Son of God, Christ Jesus, our Lord God, but God's Son". Unless we had other sources of knowledge we might be disposed to write the Roman baptismal Creed as beginning "I believe in God the Father and Lord almighty, and in Christ Jesus, our Lord God, the Son of God", but there would be at least three if not four mistakes in our conclusion.

So a theological writer belonging to the Church of England might well say, "the Rule of Faith demands that we believe in

'God the Father, who made all the world;
in God the Son, who redeemed all mankind;
and in God the Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth all the elect people of God;'"

1 Harnack, *Apostles' Creed*, pp. 54–58.
2 *de Trin.* 1 and 9; L. p. 5.

or that

there is but one living and true God, the Maker, and Preserver of all things both visible and invisible. And in unity of this Godhead there be three Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The Son, begotten from everlasting of the Father, of one substance with the Father, took Man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin; who truly suffered, was crucified, dead and buried. So also it is to be believed that Christ went down into Hell. Christ did truly rise again from death; he ascended into Heaven, and there sitteth until he return to judge all Men at the last day. The Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Son, and is very and eternal God.

Both these are taken from authoritative documents, the former from the Catechism, and the latter from the first three Articles of Religion; but it would be impossible to construct from them the baptismal Creed of the Church of England, our Apostles' Creed, though they are contained in its Rule of Faith. In short, there is nothing in the local baptismal Creed of any Church which is not in its Rule of Faith, but the Rule of Faith as given by a theological writer is of little value, and will often prove misleading, if we attempt to construct from it the corresponding baptismal Creed.

A second characteristic is that it was claimed that the Rule of Faith was the same everywhere and always: "The rule of faith is altogether one, alone, immovable and irreformable", Tertull. *de Virg. vel.* i (L. p. 4), whereas local baptismal Creeds differed both in phraseology, and in the amount of doctrinal matter included, and, as we shall soon see,[1] in the time of Irenaeus and Tertullian the Rule of Faith was far ampler and fuller than the short baptismal Creeds.

1 Pp. 36, 37.

Chapter III

EARLY EASTERN CREEDS

I. *Epistola Apostolorum*. II. The Old Creed of Alexandria. III. The Shorter Creed of the Egyptian Church Order. IV. The Marcosian Creed. V. The Creed of Irenaeus. VI. The Creed of Africa. VII. The Profession of the 'Presbyters' of Smyrna. NOTES: A. Texts of the Dêr Balyzeh Papyrus, the Marcosian Creed, the Profession of the 'Presbyters' of Smyrna; B. The Early Creeds of Africa and Rome.

I

Epistola Apostolorum

(Faith)

In God the Father almighty;
In Jesus Christ, our Saviour;
And in the Spirit, the Holy, the Paraclete;
Holy Church;
Forgiveness of sins.

II

Dêr Balyzeh Papyrus

I believe
In God the Father almighty;
And in His only-begotten Son, our Lord, Jesus Christ;
And in the Spirit, the Holy,
And in resurrection of flesh;
And holy catholic Church.

III

Egyptian Church Order

I believe (or Dost thou believe?)
In one God the Father almighty;
And in His only Son, our Saviour, Jesus Christ;
And the Holy Spirit, giver of life;
In the catholic holy Church;
And life eternal.

IV

[Marcosian]

(I believe)
In God the Father of the universe;
In Jesus Christ, His Son;
In the Holy Spirit;
In one holy Church;
And forgiveness of sins;
And communion of saints.

V

Irenaeus

I believe
In God the Father almighty;

And in Jesus Christ His Son,

who was incarnate
and died,
and rose again;
And in the Holy Spirit;
Forgiveness of sins;
And eternal life.

VI

Africa

I believe
In God the Father almighty, Maker of the universe;
I believe in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord,
who was born,
crucified,
rose again.
I believe in the Spirit the Holy;
The forgiveness of sins;
And life eternal through the holy Church.

THE study of the history of the Creeds is a branch of archaeology, in which specimens seem to occur almost by accident; we have nothing like a complete series, and to fill the most important

gaps in our collection we must often reconstruct by analogy or endeavour to recover an earlier form by the removal of later growths or accretions. Hitherto we have been in the region of little more than conjecture, but now we can obtain a solid nucleus of fact, and round it we can group other forms more or less hypothetical.

I. *Epistola Apostolorum*

The earliest Creed known word for word which can be dated with reasonable certainty is contained in the so-called Letter of the Apostles, *Epistola Apostolorum*. This is a pseudonymous treatise originally written in Greek and now extant in full in Ethiopic, but there is a small portion of it in Coptic, and a fragment in Latin.[1] It is probably to be assigned to Asia Minor before 180, and possibly between 150 and 170,[2] less probably to Egypt about 150.[3] The Ethiopic version contains a Creed of five clauses, already given, compared to the five loaves of the Gospel. This is said to be the Creed of Great Christianity, that is of the Catholic Church in contrast to heretical sects (c. 16).

II. The Old Creed of Alexandria

The Coptic and Ethiopic Creeds[4] run:

I believe (E. "We believe")
In one God (E. adds "the Lord")
The Father almighty;
And in His only-begotten Son Jesus Christ our Lord;
And in the Spirit, the Holy, the Giver of Life;
And the resurrection of the flesh;
C. And in one only catholic, apostolic, holy Church of Him;
E. And in the only holy catholic apostolic Church;
E. adds, And we believe in one baptism for the remission of sins unto the ages of the ages.

1 The Ethiopic version was published by Guerrier in *Pat. Orient.* IX. 3 in 1913, the whole was edited by Schmidt and published in *Texte u. U.* R. III. Bd. 13, 1919.

2 Schmidt; Guerrier says the end of the second or beginning of the third century, but parts may go back to the first years of the second century. He assigns it to Egypt or perhaps to Palestine.

3 Lietzmann, *Z.N.W.* XX. 1921, pp. 173 ff.

4 Hahn[3], pp. 158, 159.

It is clear that both these go back to a common original, and Coptic and Ethiopic Christianity was derived from Alexandria. The two noticeable features are the place of the "resurrection of the flesh", and the number of epithets applied to the Church, and both these are Alexandrine. Cp. the Sacramentary of Serapion 23, and the Creed of Arius and Euzoius:

> And in the Holy Spirit;
> And in the resurrection of the flesh;
> And in the life of the world to come;
> And in the kingdom of Heaven;
> And in one catholic Church of God from the world's end to the world's end. (L. p. 20; H. p. 8.)

Going back before the rise of Arianism we have a letter of Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria,[1] in which he gives not the Creed but the common belief of his Church.

> We believe, as the apostolic Church teaches,
> in an only unbegotten Father....
> And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God....
> And in addition to this pious belief respecting the Father and the Son, we confess as the sacred Scripture teaches one Holy Ghost....
> We believe in one only catholic Church, the apostolical....
> After this we know the resurrection from the dead.

Much later in date is the *Epistola Systatice* or letter sent by the Jacobite Patriarch of Alexandria to notify his election.

> We believe in one God the Father almighty,
> And in His only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, our Lord, in undivided unity....
> We believe also in the Spirit the Holy,
> the resurrection of the flesh,
> and the holy catholic Church.[2]

Finally, we have the Creed found in a fragmentary liturgy at Dêr Balyzeh by Professor Flinders Petrie in 1907,[3] which has been given above. Possibly it is this Creed that is reflected in the writings of Dionysius of Alexandria *c.* 200–264 or 265: "concerning the doctrine which now arises... which is impious,

1 Theodt. *H.E.* I. iv. 46; L. p. 7.
2 Renaudot, *Lit. orient. Coll.* I. pp. 487–90.
3 *Report of the Eucharistic Congress* 1908, p. 373.

and contains much blasphemy against the *almighty God and Father* of our *Lord Jesus Christ*, and much unbelief respecting *His only begotten Son*...and a want of perception of the *Holy Spirit*", *ap.* Eus. *H.E.* VII. 6 (L. p. 7), and "to *God the Father* and *the Son our Lord Jesus Christ* with *the Holy Spirit*", *ap.* Basil, *de S.S.* xxix. 72.

The Dêr Balyzeh papyrus is now in the Bodleian Library: it is of the sixth–eighth century. The liturgy as a whole cannot well be dated earlier than the middle of the fourth century,[1] yet when we compare these texts there can be little doubt that this Creed underlies the other forms. Accordingly we have here the Creed of Alexandria certainly before the Council of Nicaea, and probably as early as the second century.

III. The Shorter Creed of the Egyptian Church Order

The so-called Egyptian Church Order exists in various versions, but three of them, the Arabic, Ethiopic, and Coptic, give two baptismal rites, one considerably abbreviated, and in them two baptismal Creeds. The shorter Creed runs:

> I believe (A. Dost thou believe?)
> in the one *true* (E. *omits*) God, the Father Almighty;
> And in His only Son, our Lord and our Saviour, Jesus Christ;
> And the (A. His) Holy Spirit, Giver of Life (A. to the universe; E. to all creation);
> The Trinity of the same substance,
> One Godhead (A. E. The Trinity equal in Godhead);
> One Lord (A. C. one Lordship), one kingdom, one faith, one baptism.
> In the catholic (C. *adds* apostolic) holy Church,
> and life eternal.[2]

Omitting the obviously post-Nicene clause, and the quotation which follows it and is not found in other Creeds, and in general whatever has not the support of all three versions, we obtain the form already given.

Dom Connolly thinks that this Creed is not a composition

1 Brightman, *J.T.S.* XII. 1911, p. 311.
2 Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, p. 101.

but was written by "some scribe or editor, probably in Egypt, who wished to find a place in this collection of apostolic documents for a short baptismal Creed with which he was familiar".[1]

IV. The Creed of the Marcosians

Marcus seems to have been a slightly older contemporary of Irenaeus, and to have lived somewhere in Asia Minor. Like other Gnostics he parodied the Christian formulas and sacraments. Irenaeus writes of the Marcosians:[2]

> In baptism they say over them
> Into the name of the unknown Father of the universe;
> Into Truth, the Mother of all;
> Into Him who came down upon Jesus;
> Into union;
> And redemption;
> And communion in the powers.

The first and third clauses obviously refer to God the Father and God the Holy Ghost. "Unknown" in the first clause is a characteristically Gnostic word and may be omitted; "Father of the universe" is the exact phrase we have already found in Justin Martyr, and it occurs also in his description of the Eucharist: "And he (the President of the brethren) taking them (the bread and cup of wine mixed with water) gives praise and glory to the Father of the universe, through the name of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost",[3] so "Father of the universe" would seem to be a fixed formula.

The second clause in any Christian Creed of this period must refer to Jesus Christ, and probably ran "Jesus Christ His Son" at the least. This would seem to be hinted at by the Marcosians, who, according to Irenaeus, taught "One and two and three and four when added together form ten; and this, they will have it, is Jesus. Moreover, Chreistos, he says, being a word of eight letters, indicated the first Ogdoad, and this when multiplied by ten gives birth to Jesus Christ. And Christ the Son, he says, is also spoken of, that is, the Dodecad. For the name

1 *J.T.S.* xxv. 1924, p. 133.
2 *Adv. Haer.* I. xiv. 2.
3 *Apol.* I. 65; G. p. 52.

Son (ΥΙΟC) contains four letters, and Christ (ΧΡΕΙCΤΟC) eight, which, being combined, point out the greatness of the Dodecad" (viii. 13).

"The Truth" suggests "I am the Truth", John xiv. 6. Origen, *c. Cels.* viii. 63, has, "God and His only begotten Son, the Truth"; 2 Clem. 20, "To the only invisible God the Father of the Truth". "Mother of all" need not perplex us; the Gnostics always ran to female deities.

The next clause should have reference to the Church; and Marcus recognized an Aeon named "Ecclesia". "Union" may well hint at it, especially if the local Christian Creed contained "one" Church.

"Redemption" at once reminds us of Col. i. 14: "In whom we have our redemption, the forgiveness of our sins".

And "Communion in the powers" points to "communion in the holies", which we translate "communion of saints", a clause which was almost certainly current in Asia Minor, since it recurs in the Creed of Niceta of Remesiana on the one side, and in an Armenian Creed on the other.

But for Justin Martyr and the analogies of Creeds of much the same date, a reconstruction of this kind might be thought hazardous; but with these supports we cannot be far wrong if we write down the contemporary Christian Creed as we have reconstructed it.

The noticeable features common to all these early Creed forms are:

(1) they are quite short, consisting of five or six clauses;
(2) the first three clauses deal with the three Persons of the Trinity;
(3) they contain a clause concerning the Church, of which the standing epithet is "holy";
(4) the remaining clauses in the examples given are "forgiveness of sins", "the resurrection of the flesh", "communion of saints", "everlasting life"; but the number and order of these varies.

It would seem to follow from (1) and (2) that early Creeds are expansions of the baptismal formula, but there is a consider-

able gap in date and structure between these early Creeds and the simple or the threefold formula of baptism, and we have no positive evidence how this gap was bridged.

V. The Creed of Irenaeus of Lyons

The best source for obtaining the Creed of Irenaeus is his *Epideixis* or *Demonstration of Apostolic Preaching*, which was found in an Armenian translation in the Church of the Blessed Virgin at Eriwan in Armenia by Dr Karapet Ter-Mekerttshian in 1904 and has been translated into English by Dr Armitage Robinson. In writing of this treatise Harnack says: "It shows us the great bishop as a catechist"; "our treatise is a catechetical instruction",[1] thus comparing it with the catechetical lectures of Cyril of Jerusalem. This verdict has been elaborated and particularized by Dr Drews, who asserts that we have here a full-length Catechesis similar to the *de Catechizandis Rudibus* of St Augustine.[2] Accepting this conclusion, the correctness of which there seems no reason to doubt, the *Epideixis* takes a position as authoritative for the Creed far superior to the controversial treatise on the Heresies. The close connexion of Irenaeus and of Lyons with Asia Minor is unquestionable, as is also his dependence on Justin Martyr. So we should expect to find the creed of Irenaeus similar to those of the *Epistola Apostolorum* and of the Marcosians; anything approaching the length of our Apostles' Creed, for instance, would be an obvious anachronism.

In chapter 3 we read:

> First of all it (faith) bids us bear in mind that we have received baptism
> for the remission of sins,
> in the name of God the Father;
> and in the name of Jesus Christ the Son of God,
> who was incarnate,
> and died,
> and rose again;
> and in the Holy Spirit of God,
> and that this baptism is the seal of eternal life... and therefore God is almighty and all things are of God.

1 *T. u. U.* XXXI, Heft 1, 1907, pp. 55, 68. 2 *Z.N.W.* 1907, pp. 226–229.

Constructing a creed on this basis we should get the form given above.

This is closely on the model of the Creeds we have already discussed. We might add to it a clause on the Church; but it is already longer than any contemporary Creeds known to us.

It has been sometimes argued that the first clause of the Creed of Irenaeus must have run: "I believe in *one* God", because the oneness of God is so often insisted upon in his controversial writings, but the arguments do not appear at all conclusive. In contrast with the polytheism of heathendom, and the dualism of Marcion, Irenaeus must have insisted that God was one, just as a modern missionary must do, but that no more proves that the word "one" stood in his Creed in the one case than in the other. St Paul insists that to the heathen there are "gods many, and lords many, yet to us there is one God the Father, and one Lord Jesus Christ" (1 Cor. viii. 6); yet "one God—one Lord" occurs only once in the large number of instances of the formula "God, Jesus Christ, Holy Spirit" given on pp. 17–19, and then in conjunction with "one faith, one baptism". Moreover, Irenaeus insists almost equally on "one" as applied to Christ, though it is all but certain that the epithet did not occur in the second member. But of greater weight is the fact that the word "one" in either connexion does not occur in any Gallican baptismal Creed of the fourth century or later, and these were all in some degree dependent on the Creed of Irenaeus.

VI. The Creed of Africa

Augustine asserts definitely that the Christianity of Africa was derived from the East: "The faction of Donatus...does not consider...that it is cut off from that root of the eastern churches whence the Gospel came to Africa".[1] If so, the Creed would probably resemble the Creeds we have discussed, and in any event it must have been quite short.

Tertullian writes: "There is really nothing that so blinds men's minds as the simplicity of divine works seen in process

1 *Ep.* lii. 2.

and their grandeur promised in the result: for example...since with so great simplicity, without any parade...a man is lowered into water and with intervals for a few words is dipped...and yet an incredible result in eternity is deemed to be assured",[1] and, "Hereupon we are thrice immersed, making a somewhat ampler response than the Lord appointed in the Gospel"[2] (i.e. in the Matthaean formula). These two sentences and the analogy of Eastern Creeds show that the African Creed must have been quite brief.

Cyprian gives two extracts from the interrogatory Creed of Africa, which at this date, but for the thrice-repeated "Dost thou believe?" instead of "I believe", was probably the same as the declaratory. "But if anyone objects by way of saying that Novatian holds the same law which the Catholic Church holds, baptizes with the same creed with which we baptize, knows the same God and Father, the same Christ the Son, the same Holy Spirit, and that for this reason he may claim the power of baptizing, namely that he seems not to differ from us in the baptismal interrogation; let anyone that thinks this objection may be made, know first of all that there is not one law of the creed, nor the same interrogation, common to us and the schismatics. For when they say, 'Dost thou believe remission of sins and eternal life through the holy Church?' they lie in the interrogation, since they have not the Church".[3] "But moreover the very interrogation which is put in baptism is a witness to the truth. For when we say, 'Dost thou believe in eternal life and remission of sins through the holy Church?' we mean that remission of sins is not granted except in the Church".[4]

But Cyprian's Creed was probably somewhat fuller than we should gather from these extracts, and in Serm. 212 ascribed to Augustine we have, "To this (love) the way is by the faith which is contained in your creed: the belief in God the Father almighty, invisible, immortal, King of the ages, Creator of things visible and invisible"; and in Sermon 215 (T. viii. p. 949, ed.

1 *de Bapt.* 2. 2 *de Cor.* III, L. p. 4; G. p. 118.
3 *Ep.* lxix (to Magnus), 7; L. p. 5.
4 *Ep.* lxx (to Januarius and others), 2.

Bened., 1763): "This then is the faith and rule of salvation, that we shall believe in God the Father almighty, Creator of all things, King of the ages, immortal and invisible"; and this second form occurs also at a later date in Fulgentius of Ruspe. The phrase has an Eastern appearance, and might have come almost as it stands out of some Eastern anaphora; it was certainly not in the Creed of Augustine which he brought from Milan to Africa, so it is probably older. Nothing like it occurs in the Roman Creed until centuries later, but Tertullian's Rule of Faith already quoted seems to hint at something to the same effect, and Tertullian says also: "Let us admit that salvation came about in times past by simple faith, before the Lord's passion and resurrection, and when faith was increased (I mean by faith the belief in His nativity, passion and resurrection), then was added to the mystery thus enlarged in scope a ratification in baptism".[1]

So we may perhaps reconstruct the early African Creed as follows:

Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem (universorum Creatorem?);
Credo in Jesum Christum, Filium Ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum,
qui natus est,
crucifixus,
resurrexit;
Credo in Spiritum Sanctum;
Remissionem peccatorum;
(Carnis resurrectionem?)
Et vitam aeternam per sanctam Ecclesiam.

The triple "Credo" would seem assured by Augustine, *Serm.* ccxv, and Fulgentius of Ruspe. Anything more elaborate would seem an anachronism and barred by the language of Tertullian, and this form may be already too long.

VII. The Profession of the "Presbyters" (i.e. Bishops) of Smyrna

It may be worth while to turn aside from formal baptismal Creeds, and to deal in passing with something more akin to a personal profession of faith, probably fuller, so far as it goes,

1 *de Bapt.* 13.

than the actual Creed of the time and place. The condemnation of Noetus can be dated within a year or two of A.D. 180. The profession of their faith by the bishops who condemned him at Smyrna is reported in slightly differing language by Hippolytus (*c. Noet.* 1) and Epiphanius (*Haer.* lvii):

H.	E.
And we know truly one God;	We also worship one God, but as we know how to worship righteously;
We know Christ, We know the Son,	And we have one Christ, but as we know that Christ is Son of God,
Suffered as He suffered, Died as He died, Risen the third day,	Suffered as He suffered, Died as He died, Risen, Ascended into the heavens,
And being on the right hand of God the Father, And coming to judge quick and dead.	Being on the right hand of God the Father, Coming to judge quick and dead.

The third member is entirely omitted. The teaching about our Lord is far fuller than we have found hitherto, and we must not assume that all here given was contained in the Creed of Smyrna at the time. But we notice that the second member has a succession of bare, unqualified participles, "suffered, died, risen". This is an example of the way in which the events of our Lord's life on earth would be commemorated in Creeds when they were first included. So we have in the Creed of the Council of Nicaea "came down, and was incarnate, and was made man, suffered", simply, and in the Creed put forward by Eusebius of Caesarea at that Council, "was incarnate, lived among men, and suffered", and in the profession of faith of Arius and Euzoius in 330 "who came down, and was incarnate, and suffered, and rose". This brevity of statement is similar to the corresponding clauses in the Creeds of Lyons and Africa as we have reconstructed them.

NOTES

A. Early Creed Forms

Dêr Balyzeh Papyrus

.....ὁμολογεῖ τὴν πίστιν·
Πιστεύω εἰς Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα·
Καὶ εἰς τὸν μονογενῆ Αὐτοῦ Υἱόν,
τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν, Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν·
Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον·
Καὶ εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν·
Καὶ ἁγίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν.
τ

The τ occupies a full line of the MS. and probably stands for τέλος.

Marcosian

Οἱ δὲ ἄγουσιν ἐφ' ὕδωρ, καὶ βαπτίζοντες οὕτως ἐπιλέγουσιν·
Εἰς ὄνομα ἀγνώστου Πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων·
Εἰς Ἀλήθειαν μητέρα πάντων·
Εἰς τὸν κατελθόντα εἰς Ἰησοῦν·
Εἰς ἕνωσιν·
Καὶ ἀπολύτρωσιν·
Καὶ κοινωνίαν τῶν δυνάμεων.

Irenaeus, *adv. Haer.* I. xiv. 2, ed. Harvey.

The Profession of the 'Presbyters' of Smyrna

Hippolytus, *c. Noet.* 1.	Epiphanius, *Haer.* lvii.
Καὶ ἡμεῖς ἕνα Θεὸν οἴδαμεν ἀληθῶς·	Ἕνα Θεὸν δοξάζομεν καὶ αὐτοί, ἀλλ' ὡς οἴδαμεν δικαίως δοξάζειν·
Οἴδαμεν Χριστόν,	Καὶ ἕνα Χριστὸν ἔχομεν,
οἴδαμεν τὸν Υἱόν,	ἀλλ' ὡς οἴδαμεν Χριστὸν Υἱὸν Θεοῦ,
παθόντα καθὼς ἔπαθε,	παθόντα καθὼς ἔπαθεν,
ἀποθανόντα καθὼς ἀπέθανε,	ἀποθανόντα καθὼς ἀπέθανεν,
ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ,	ἀναστάντα,
	ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς,
καὶ ὄντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρός,	ὄντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρός,
καὶ ἐρχόμενον κρῖναι	ἐρχόμενον κρῖναι
ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς.	ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς.

B. The Early Creeds of Africa and of Rome

In spite of the clear statement of St Augustine that African Christianity came from the East, an attempt has been made to show that the African Creed was derived from and identical with the contemporary Creed of Rome on the ground of a supposed statement by Tertullian

that this was the case, and a second statement that the Church of Africa recognized the "auctoritas" of the Church of Rome, as being that of its ecclesiastical mother.

In early times the appeal in questions of doctrinal controversy was to the Scriptures and to the common faith of the Church, which had received a very incomplete embodiment in the slightly varying local Creeds. This faith, it was claimed, was one and the same everywhere.

"Now with regard to this Rule of Faith—that we may at once acknowledge what it is that we defend—it is, you must know, that which prescribes the belief that there is one only God, and that He is none other than the Creator of the world, who produced all things out of nothing through His own Word first of all sent down, that this Word, called His Son, was seen under the name of God in divers manners by the patriarchs, heard at all times in the prophets, at last brought down by the Spirit and Power of the Father into the Virgin Mary, was made flesh in her womb, and being born of her went forth as Jesus Christ; thenceforth He preached the new law and the new promise of the Kingdom of Heaven, worked miracles; having been crucified He rose again the third day; being taken up into the heavens He sat on the right hand of the Father; sent instead of Himself (*vicariam*) the Power of the Holy Ghost to lead such as believe; will come with glory to take the saints to the enjoyment of everlasting life and of the heavenly promises, and to condemn the wicked to everlasting fire, after the resurrection of both together with the restoration of their flesh. Christ delivered the faith; the Apostles spread it."[1]

"Christ Jesus... commanded the eleven to go and teach the nations ...straightway therefore the Apostles... founded in the several cities churches from which the rest have thenceforth borrowed and daily borrow the shoot of faith and seeds of teaching in order that they may become churches; and it is from this fact that they too will be accounted apostolic, as the offspring of apostolic churches. Every kind of thing must be estimated by reference back to its origin. Therefore the churches, whatever their size or number, form the single and primitive Church, which comes from the Apostles, and its offspring are they all. Thus they are all primitive and all apostolic since they are all approved together by their union in the common peace, the title of brotherhood, and the interchange of hospitality (*contesseratio hospitalitatis*)—rights which are governed by no other rule than the single tradition of the same mystery in all."[2]

Tertullian is here asserting not identity of Creed but of doctrinal tradition; the same faith is held in common by all churches which are all directly or indirectly of apostolic foundation. He uses a metaphor which emphasizes the identity of the substance and the difference of form, for the *tessera hospitalitatis* was a token divided into parts of

1 *de Praescr.* 13; cp. *de Virg. vel.* 1; L. pp. 4, 5.
2 *de Praescr.* 20; G. p. 120, but see p. 4 *supra.*

which each friend retained one, so that if they, or their heirs, ever met in later times, the parts would be found to fit together. Against diversities of heresies he places the unity of the faith, and against their novelties of doctrine its apostolic continuity. The *tessera hospitalitatis* was held in common not only by the Churches of Africa and Rome, but by all orthodox churches, which agreed in doctrine though they differed in the wording of their several Creeds.

"Run over the apostolic churches, in which the very thrones of the Apostles at this very day preside over their own places.... Is Achaia near to you? You have Corinth. If you are not far from Macedonia, you have Philippi; you have the Thessalonians. If you travel into Asia you have Ephesus. But if you are near to Italy you have Rome, and from Rome (*unde*) this *auctoritas* is at hand for us also (in Africa)... see what she has learnt, what she has taught, what agreement (*quid contesserarit*)[1] she has kept with the Churches of Africa as with others (*quoque*)."

Then he proceeds to enumerate the points of agreement: "One Lord God she acknowledges, the Creator of the universe, and Christ Jesus (born) of the Virgin Mary, the Son of God the Creator, and the resurrection of the flesh; the Law and the Prophets she unites with the writings of the Apostles and Evangelists, from which she drinks in her faith; this she seals with the water, feeds with the eucharist, cheers with martyrdom, and against such a discipline she admits no gainsayer".[2]

So the *tessera hospitalitatis* stands for Christian practice as well as faith. Tertullian's whole argument is geographical. If you are in Greece, you have Corinth, etc., if in Italy or Africa, Rome is your nearest source; and the *auctoritas* is, in the last resort, that of the Catholic and Apostolic Church, which you can find, as it were, concentrated in any church founded by an Apostle. His claim is that of Irenaeus; the substance of the faith is one everywhere, "for the churches which have been planted in Germany do not believe or hand down anything different, nor do those in Spain, nor those in Gaul, nor those in the East, nor those in Egypt, nor those in Libya, nor those which have been established in the central regions of the world" (probably Palestine).[3] *Auctoritas*, of course, does not imply jurisdiction, but is akin to our use of "expert authority", a powerful guarantee.

The best comment on this passage of Tertullian is Augustine, *Letter* 43 (to Glorius, etc.), 7: "Carthage...had a bishop of more than ordinary *auctoritas*, who could afford to disregard even a number of enemies...because he saw himself united by letters of communion both to the Roman Church in which the supremacy of an apostolic chair always flourished, and to all other lands from which Africa itself received the Gospel." Here we have at once the acknowledgment of the *auctoritas* of Rome, and the assertion that Africa received its Christianity from elsewhere.

1 See p. 4 n. 3.

2 *de Praescr.* 36; quoted in part L. p. 5.

3 *Adv. Haer.* I. 3.

Chapter IV

EASTERN BAPTISMAL CREEDS OF THE FOURTH CENTURY

I. Introduction. II. Alexandria: Arius and Euzoius. III. Palestine: Eusebius of Caesarea, Cyril of Jerusalem. IV. Antiochene Creeds: (*a*) Antioch, (*b*) Philadelphia, (*c*) the *Didascalia Apostolorum*, (*d*) The Creed of Cappadocia. Notes: A. The Creed of the *Didascalia*. B. The Creed of Auxentius of Cappadocia and its Cognates. C. The Phrases "Born of the Holy Spirit and Mary the virgin" and "under Pontius Pilate".

I. Introduction

In the very early days of Christianity there is good reason to think that the candidate for baptism expressed his belief by means of a simple formula of one clause only.[1] The next step was a threefold formula which at least in Rome was probably: "Dost thou believe in God? Dost thou believe in Jesus Christ (our Lord)? Dost thou believe in the Spirit the Holy?"[2] The evidence for the East is not equally conclusive, but the Matthaean formula appears nowhere in the literature of the apostolic or sub-apostolic age except in *Didache* 7, and where it occurs later it is nearly always in direct quotations from the Gospel or in connexion with the invocation over the candidate. Between these one-clause and three-clause formulas, and between the latter and the Creeds of the second century there are obvious gaps both in time and structure, and there is an even greater gap between these last and the Creeds of the fourth century.

The earliest Eastern Creeds which can be dated by the documents in which they occur are the Creed of Eusebius of Caesarea, given in his letter to his diocese in 325, and the profession of faith made by Arius and Euzoius in their letter to the Emperor Constantine in 331.

Earlier than these we might put the Creed of Cappadocia as given by Auxentius, who claims to have been taught it from his infancy, but we cannot avoid the suspicion that in the form

1 Cp. pp. 15, 16. 2 Cp. pp. 16–19.

in which he quotes it in his letter to the Emperors Valens and Valentinian in 364 it has been considerably touched up and edited. Next we should place the Creed given by Marcellus in his letter to Pope Julius of Rome in or about the year 340, but it has been alleged that this is not the Creed of his diocese but that of Rome, and this claim we shall have to consider at some length. Then before the year 350 we have a Creed extracted from the catechetical lectures of Cyril, at that time a presbyter at Jerusalem.

In the second half of the fourth century a practice grew up of interpolating the local baptismal Creed with phrases taken from the Creed of the Council of Nicaea in order to guard against Arianism. Of this practice the Creed of Antioch furnishes an important example. But though such interpolations are often clearly recognizable, it is to be remembered that when we have cut out the Nicene phrases, the result is probably too long to represent faithfully the Creed as it was some fifty years earlier, for, between 300 and 360 or later, we must allow for the same kind of growth that clearly went on in previous times. Nevertheless we can reckon on a considerable nucleus as being maintained unchanged, and this is sufficient justification for our including under the same general heading the creed produced by Charisius, the presbyter of Philadelphia, at the Council of Ephesus in 431.

Previous to the predominance of the Church of Constantinople, the leading Churches were those of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, and the sphere of influence of the Church of Antioch ran north over the region south of the Danube, almost to the borders of Italy, and south-east to Mesopotamia. In consequence Creeds throughout this district tended to resemble the Creed of Antioch, and in a certain sense may be said to have been derived from it, though Antioch never imposed uniformity throughout, and much discretion was left to the local bishops, and more especially to the bishops of the leading sees, such as Ephesus, Caesarea in Cappadocia, and Heraclea, on the coast of the Propontis; still, along with local peculiarities which are to be found both in the Creed of Antioch, and in those of other

dioceses, there is a marked resemblance of general structure, and though, if we extracted this common element, we should not have the actual Creed in use at an earlier date in any particular diocese, it would give us a sort of backbone, and guide our judgement in deciding whether a Creed, about the locality of which a question had been raised, could with a fair probability be assigned to some place within this region rather than to Alexandria, or Africa, or Rome.

II. Alexandria

The Creed of Arius and Euzoius, 331 (L. pp. 20, 21 H. pp. 7, 8)

This was presented to the Emperor Constantine with a view to impressing him with the orthodoxy of his two petitioners. It may be compared with the Creed of Macarius of Egypt on p. 21 of Lietzmann. It is impossible to say how much is Alexandrian and how much was composed for the occasion. Sozomen says of it: "Many considered this declaration of faith as an artful compilation, and as bearing an appearance of opposition to the Arian tenets, while in reality it supported them; the terms in which it was couched being so vague that it was susceptible of divers interpretations".[1] Its importance for our purpose is first as showing how far Arians would go in the use of orthodox language while holding heretical views; and secondly on account of the use of bare participles commemorating the events of our Lord's life—"who came down and was incarnate, and suffered, and rose", which may be compared with the corresponding phrases in the Creed of Nicaea, a feature which, as we have said, is probably a survival of an early usage. The mention of the resurrection of the flesh immediately after "the Holy Spirit", and the strong expressions about the Church are both typically Alexandrian. The Creed ends "This faith we have received from the holy scriptures".

1 *H.E.* II. 37.

III. Palestine

The *Creed of Eusebius of Caesarea* was presented at the Council of Nicaea in 325, and is preserved in a letter written to his diocese (L. pp. 14, 15; H. p. 4). Eusebius introduces it by saying: "As in our first catechetical instruction, and at the time of our baptism, we received from the bishops who were before us, and as we have learnt from the Holy Scriptures, and, alike as presbyters and as bishops, were wont to believe and teach; so we now believe and thus declare our faith. It is as follows:—" (G. p. 181). This would antedate the Creed at least to the beginning of the fourth century. Eusebius obviously omits to quote the concluding clauses, but as the Church to which he wrote must have known the Creed, there can be few other alterations or deficiencies.

The *Creed of Cyril of Jerusalem* is extracted from his catechetical lectures which were delivered before 350 (L. p. 15; H. pp. 12, 13). Between "By whom all things were made" and "Rose the third day" this Creed has been filled up from the headings of the chapters, which do not go back to Cyril himself, and in consequence editors fill in the gap differently, e.g. Lietzmann and Heurtley.

Both these Creeds will be of importance when we come to deal with the history of the Nicene Creed.

IV. Antiochene Creeds

"Up to the reign of Theodosius (379–395), Antioch remained Queen of the East, the centre to which the Greek Empire and its chief ecclesiastical metropolis gravitated, the ancient Churches of Asia and the Christian communities of the diocese of Thracia being drawn into its circle of influence. Alexandria resisted its attraction." "Antioch having lost this position from the time of Theodosius, the entire East now looked to Constantinople. The three northern dioceses, originally cut off from the ancient capital, were soon seized upon by the new."[1]

1 Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, pp. 21, 25.

(*a*) *The Creed of Antioch*

The Creed of Antioch (L. p. 18) is given by Cassian in a Latin translation (*c. Nest.* vi. 3) down to "to judge quick and dead"; a portion was quoted by Eusebius of Dorylaeum in a treatise against Nestorius preserved in the Acts of the Council of Ephesus, c. 13 (Mansi, IV. 1009), from "true God from true God" to "crucified under Pontius Pilate"; the phrases "and in remission of sins; and (in) resurrection of the dead, and (in) life eternal" are given by Chrysostom (*Hom. in I. Cor.* 40). The whole is almost verbally identical with a Creed assigned to Laodicea in Syria, south-west of Antioch, on the sea coast, opposite the northern headland of Cyprus[1].

Cassian states that with this Creed Nestorius was baptized. The phrases "and not made", "true God from true God", "of one substance with the Father" are obviously interpolated from the Nicene Creed, so the Creed as it stands cannot be earlier than 325, nor later than 400, for Nestorius became Bishop of Constantinople in 428. The enlargement was probably made by Meletius between his coming to Antioch in 361 and his exile in 400; "that Meletius was responsible for the Antiochian revision, and that it took place in one of the early years of his episcopate, is likely enough" (Hort, *Two Dissertations*, p. 128). These phrases should be taken out of the Creed and the remainder compared with the Creeds which follow.

(*b*) *The Creed of Philadelphia* (Hort, p. 150)

(I believe in one God the Father almighty), Maker of all
creatures visible and invisible;
(And in one Lord Jesus Christ)
His only begotten Son,
. . . . .
who came down from heaven,
was born of the holy virgin,
. . . . .
was crucified for us,
was buried,
rose the third day,
ascended into the heavens,
and is coming again to judge both quick and dead;

1 Hahn[3], pp. 143, 144.

And in the Spirit of truth, the Paraclete;
And in holy catholic Church;
In resurrection of the dead;
And life eternal.

The Philadelphian Creed is preserved in the Acts of the Council of Ephesus in 431 (Mansi, IV. 1348). At the sixth session of the Council a certain Charisius, presbyter and steward of Philadelphia, in Lydia, stated that a knot of Quartodecimans and Novatians in Philadelphia and the neighbourhood had resolved to join the Church. They had been instructed and admitted by two men called presbyters and had submitted an exposition of faith somewhat in the form of a Creed. Their instructors had commendatory letters from two men likewise called presbyters who were at that time consorting with Nestorians at Constantinople, and the exposition, Charisius said, was full of heresy. He himself had been excluded from communion and ministration as a heretic. He submitted his Creed apparently as evidence of his orthodoxy, and it may be reasonably taken as the Creed of Philadelphia. It has obviously been interpolated by phrases taken from the Creed of Nicaea, such as:

God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, of one substance with the Father; for us men and for our salvation; was made flesh; was made man;

and "of one substance with the Father and the Son" in the third member of the Creed is also obviously post-Nicene; these have been omitted in the quotation given. The first clause is also identical with the wording of the Creed of the Council of Nicaea; but there must have been some corresponding clause in the Creed of Philadelphia, though it is doubtful if it contained the word "one". In the second clause I have accepted Kattenbusch's suggestion of "creatures" (*κτιστῶν*) for "Creator" (*Κτιστήν*); compare the Creed of Antioch, "creaturarum". "And in one Lord Jesus Christ" may also have been taken over from the Nicene Creed; "one" is more rare in this clause than in the former, and the words may have run "in Jesus Christ our Lord".

The omission of the name "Mary" is paralleled by the Fourth

Formula of the Council of Antioch in 341, which has "and was born of the holy virgin".

The curious phrase "the Spirit of truth, the Paraclete", may also be Antiochene, since in the Nestorian Creed, which is formed from the Creeds of Antioch and of the Nicene Council, we find "And in one Spirit Holy, the Spirit of Truth", and in the Creed of the Apostolic Constitutions, "In the Spirit the Holy, this is the Paraclete"; but the phrase is probably later than 325. Kattenbusch (*ap. Symb.* I. 361) suggests "in the (Holy) Spirit". With these omissions, which result in a form slightly fuller than that suggested by Kattenbusch, we get back to the form given, which may have been in use in Philadelphia about the year 330. This should be compared with the Creed of Remesiana given in the following chapter.

(*c*) *The Creed of the* Didascalia

The *Didascalia Apostolorum* was originally written in Greek in the first half of the third century, apparently somewhere in Syria,[1] and probably retouched in the second half. It now exists in a close Syriac translation and some fragments in a Latin version which has been interpolated.

Zahn[2] reconstructs from it the following creed:

I believe in God almighty;
And in our Lord Jesus Christ (His Son?),
who (for us came down)
(and) was born of (Mary the?) virgin,
and crucified under Pontius Pilate,
and died,
and the third day rose from the dead,
and ascended into heaven,
and sitteth at the right hand of God Almighty,
and is coming with power and glory to judge dead and quick;
And in the Holy Spirit...
(Holy Church?)
Resurrection of the dead...

He calls attention to a passage following a free reproduction of Acts xv: "Since danger has arisen lest the whole Church

1 Achelis, *Texte u. Unter.* XXV. 2, p. 381, thinks it was written by a bishop.
2 *Neuere Beiträge zur Geschichte des apost. Symbolums*, p. 23.

shall fall into heresy, we Twelve Apostles assembled together in Jerusalem...and we established and determined that you should pray to God the Almighty, and Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit, and use the Holy Scriptures, and believe in the resurrection of the dead, and enjoy all creatures with thanksgiving". So a Trinitarian Creed is here traced back to a supposed Apostolic Council.

(*d*) *The Creed of Cappadocia*

This is given by Auxentius who, in writing to the Emperors Valens and Valentinian in 364, and seeking to disclaim the charge of heresy, says that he never knew Arius nor his doctrines, *sed ex infantia quemadmodum doctus sum, sicut accepi de sanctis scripturis, credidi et credo*; then there follows his Creed, which by his statement would be the pre-Nicene Creed of Cappadocia. I have omitted certain phrases which I regard as additions made by Auxentius himself, and relegated the discussion of my reasons for so doing to a note at the end of this chapter.

Credo in unum solum verum Deum, Patrem omnipotentem;

. . . . . .

Et in Filium Ejus unigenitum, Dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum,
ante omnia saecula...natum ex Patre.

. . . . . .

Per quem omnia facta sunt visibilia et invisibilia,
qui descendit de caelis...
natus est...et crucifixus...et sepultus,
tertia die resurrexit,
ascendit in caelos,
sedet ad dexteram Patris,
venturus judicare vivos et mortuos;
Et in Spiritum Sanctum Paracletum, Spiritum veritatis.

Auxentius, like Eusebius of Caesarea, omits the last clauses.

NOTES

A. *The Creed of the* Didascalia

Zahn insists that in "the first article the constant use of the form Θεὸς παντοκράτωρ is characteristic....We never read Θεὸς Πατὴρ παντοκράτωρ, for the word 'Father' on p. 102. 6 (the reference is to Lagarde) has been inserted by a second hand. The passage 1. 8 ('you who have

taken the liberty of calling God the Almighty Father') does not belong here. Also there is no emphasis laid...on the Oneness of God".[1]

Zahn's contention is no doubt correct, for it is supported by analogies from the same district. Thus the salutation at the beginning of Polycarp's epistle runs: "Mercy and peace from *God Almighty* and Jesus Christ our Saviour be multiplied", which appears almost a deliberate alteration from that customary in the epistles of St Paul, "From *God our Father* and the Lord Jesus Christ". So at the beginning of the anaphora of the Clementine Liturgy in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, bk. viii, "The grace of *Almighty God* and the love of our Lord Jesus Christ and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with you all".

With this formula we can put the ascription given in Pionius' *Life of Polycarp*, ch. xxiii: "By the grace of the *Almighty God* and our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom to the invisible and incomprehensible only immortal Father in the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, glory and honour and might both was and is and shall be for ever". Both these lines can be pursued further. Thus in Pionius, ch. xiii, we get a summary of Polycarp's teaching which naturally runs into something like a Creed:

"In his teaching he insists before all else that his hearers should know concerning God Almighty, invisible, unchangeable, incomprehensible, and that He was pleased to send down His own Word the Son from heaven that...being made flesh He should save His own creation. Who...of a spotless virgin and Holy Spirit fulfilled the mystery of His generation. And underwent the passion for men's salvation....Whom also God raised from the dead....And being taken up into the heavens....And concerning the Holy Spirit and the gift of the Paraclete and the rest of the charismata he showed that it was impossible to have these outside the Catholic Church".

And similarly a Creed seems to lie at the back of the Clementine anaphora:

"It is meet...to hymn Thee the God who truly art...
Who hast called all things into being out of nothing through thy only-begotten Son.
Having begotten Him before all worlds...the first-born of all creation...
through whom are all things,
For Thou, God eternal, through Him hast made all things...
For thou art holy, and holy is Thy only-begotten Son,
Our Lord and God, Jesus Christ...
It pleased Him to become Man...
being born of a virgin...
and He was made flesh...
having lived holily...
suffered many things...
been delivered to Pilate...

1 *Apostles' Creed*, p. 98 n.

He was nailed to the Cross...
and died...
and was buried...
and rose from the dead the third day...
He was taken up into the heavens...
and was seated at the right hand of Thee His God and Father".

With this we may compare Irenaeus, *adv. Haer.* IV. liii. 1:

"A full faith in God Almighty, of whom are all things,
And in the dispensations connected with Him,
through which the Son of God became man;
And a firm belief in the Spirit of God.

. . . . . .

True knowledge consists in the teaching of the Apostles and the ancient constitution of the Church throughout all the world".

And the beginning of the First Formula of Antioch in 341:

"To believe in one God of the universe, Maker and Designer of all things knowable and sensible;
And in one Son of God, only-begotten".

And now if we look at the Creed of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (L. p. 19; H. p. 10):

"In one unbegotten only true God almighty
The Father of Christ,
Creator and maker of all things, of whom are all things;
And in the Lord Jesus Christ, His only-begotten Son, etc."

the phrase "the Father of Christ" appears to be thrust in as though it were an interpolation by the compiler into the Creed on which his own is based.

Finally, we can put together what looks very much like a Creed from two homilies of Aphraates (A.D. 336–345):

"When a man shall believe
in God the Lord of all...
Who sent His Christ into the world (*Hom.* i. 19)
Jesus...
He is the first-born Son,
born of Mary...
He suffered,
lived again,
ascended into the height...
He is the judge of dead and quick,
Who shall sit upon the throne, (*Hom.* xiv. 39)

. . . . . .

Who sent His Spirit in the prophets....
This is the faith of the Church of God.
And believe also in the mystery of Baptism.
And that a man shall believe in the resurrection of the dead".
(*Hom.* i. 19 rearranged).

Thus a creed somewhat of the type reconstructed by Zahn from the *Didascalia*, with no "one" or "Father" in the first clause, would appear to have a wide though miscellaneous support within the Antiochene province, so that if we were to come across a Creed with these characteristics, we should have no just cause to suspect textual corruption merely on this account, and should have justification for assigning it to some Church within the province of Antioch.

B. *The Creed of Auxentius of Cappadocia and its Cognates*

Auxentius (Hil. Pictav. T. II. p. 617, Migne)	Eunomius, *Apologeticus*
Credo in unum solum verum Deum Patrem omnipotentem, (invisibilem, impassibilem, immortalem);	πιστεύομεν εἰς τὸν ἕνα καὶ μόνον ἀληθινὸν Θεόν
Et in Filium Ejus unigenitum, Dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum,	πιστεύομεν καὶ εἰς τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Υἱόν. τὸν μονογενῆ Θεόν, τὸν πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως
ante omnia saecula (et ante omne principium) natum ex Patre,	Υἱὸν ἀληθινόν... πρὸ πάσης κτίσεως γενόμενον...
(Deum verum Filium ex vero Deo Patre)...	Σοφίαν ζῶσαν, Ἀλήθειαν ἐνεργοῦσαν... Φῶς ἀληθινόν
Per Ipsum enim omnia facta sunt visibilia et invisibilia,	
qui descendit de caelis... (propter nostram salutem)	τὸν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν γενόμενον ἐν σαρκί,
natus de (Spiritu Sancto et) Maria virgine...	γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός, γενόμενον ἄνθρωπον...
et crucifixum (sub Pontio Pilato),	τὸν γενόμενον ὑπήκοον μέχρι σταυροῦ καὶ θανάτου...
sepultum,	
tertia die resurrexisse,	ἀναστάντα τῇ τριτῇ τῶν ἡμερῶν, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν
ascendisse in caelis,	ἀνακεφαλαιωσάμενον τοῖς Ἑαυτοῦ τὸ μυστήριον. καὶ καθήμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρός·
sedere ad dexteram Patris,	ἐρχόμενον κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς.
venturum judicare vivos et mortuos;	Καὶ... πιστεύομεν εἰς τὸν Παράκλητον
Et in Spiritum Sanctum Paracletum...	τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας... πιστεύομεν
Spiritum veritatis.	...τὴν γενησομένην ἀνάστασιν...

I have put into brackets what I regard as Auxentius's own additions to the Creed of Cappadocia.

With these should be compared the Second Formula of Antioch (L. pp. 23 and 24).

Basil (bp. 370–379), *de Fide* (*Ascetica*, 4)	Relevant non-Nicene phrases in the Creed now used by the Armenian Church (Hort, *Two Dissertations*, pp. 146, 147)
πιστεύομεν...ἕνα μόνον ἀληθινὸν... Θεὸν	
καὶ Πατέρα παντοκράτορα,	
ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα...	ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς
καὶ ἕνα τὸν μονογενῆ Αὐτοῦ Υἱόν,	
Κύριον καὶ Θεὸν ἡμῶν, Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν,	
...δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο,	
τά τε ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα.	ὁρατά τε καὶ ἀόρατα,
	(κατελθόντα) ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν,
	γεννηθέντα τελείως ἐκ Μαρίας
διὰ τῆς ἐκ παρθένου γεννήσεως...	τῆς παρθένου διὰ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου,
γενόμενος ὑπήκοος μέχρι θανάτου,	σταυρωθέντα,
θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ.	ταφέντα.
καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγερθεὶς ἐκ νεκρῶν,	
...ἀνέβη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς,	(ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς)
	ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ σώματι·
καὶ κάθηται ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρός.	καθίσαντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρός·
ὅθεν ἔρχεται...ἀναστῆσαι πάντας	(ἐρχόμενον) ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ σώματι
ὅτε οἱ μὲν δίκαιοι προσληφθήσονται	(καὶ) ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ Πατρός·
εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον·	οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος.
καὶ ἓν μόνον Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον τὸν Παράκλητον.	

The phrases of the Creed of Eunomius are taken from his Exposition of faith (Mansi, IV. 645–649), which was presented to the Emperor Theodosius in 383 in vindication of his teaching. Eunomius was by birth a Cappadocian from near the border of Galatia, and from 360–364 was Bishop of Cyzicus on the sea of Marmora. It is not certain that the Creed of Eunomius is of any value for the Creed of Cappadocia (Kattenbusch, I. 351); he may have been using merely the Creed of Antioch (L. p. 18), and the Second Formula of Antioch (Lucianic Creed?).

Basil ends his sermon on the faith, from which these phrases are extracted, by saying: "Thus we think and thus we baptize into the Trinity of one substance in accordance with the command of our Lord Himself, Jesus Christ, saying 'Go and make disciples of all nations, etc.'"

The Armenian Creed is based on the Nicene, but Christianity undoubtedly reached Armenia from Cappadocia. Only the possibly relevant phrases are given here. There is a close connexion between this Creed, the Longer Creed of Epiphanius, and the *Interpretatio in Symbolum*. Of the three the Epiphanian is undoubtedly the earliest, being composed of the Nicene, certain phrases taken from the Creed of Cyprus, and parenthetical explanations.

There would seem to be some connexion between the Second

Formula of Antioch (L. p. 23) and the Cappadocian Creed, though it is difficult to define it precisely. It should be compared with the form quoted in order to give all possible sources for the reconstruction of the Creed of Cappadocia, or rather for estimating Auxentius's presentation of it. It is clear that Auxentius, like Eusebius of Caesarea, has omitted the concluding clauses of his Creed as dealing with matters about which there was no controversy, and that he added phrases of his own.

Accepting from Auxentius all that seems to have any support from elsewhere we arrive at the form given above.

In this shortened form I have omitted:

In the first clause the epithets "invisible, impassible, immortal". This phrase finds no support from our other authorities, its nearest parallels being "invisible, immortal, impassible", in the Creed of the Arian Council of Sirmium in 351, and "alone ingenerate and invisible" in the Creed of Ulphilas the Arian Bishop of the Goths.

It was characteristic of the Arians to give to God the Father titles which they would deny to God the Son; cp. the Arian Fragments in Mai's *Script. vet. nova Coll.* III. 215, "Ingenerate, and only begotten; ...He who was seen, and whom no man saw nor can see; who is impassible, and who suffered for us".

The author of the *Explanatio Symboli ad Initiandos*, who may have been St Ambrose, blames the Church of Aquileia for adding to its Creed "invisible and impassible", a phrase which he said was distorted by the Arians for their own purposes.

In the second clause I have omitted "true God the Son from true God the Father"; this is also probably an Arian addition intended to throw dust in the eyes of the orthodox. Eunomius has "the only-begotten God...true Son", and Arius and Euzoius, "God, Word", and at the Council of Nicaea the Arians were asked "Will you own that the Son is God?" and replied, "We have no objection to it; if He has been so made, verily He is so".

C. "*Born of the Holy Spirit and Mary the virgin*"

This phrase I have marked as doubtful. If we are satisfied that Auxentius makes additions to the Creed which he said he had held *ex infantia*, this may be one of them; Eunomius and the Second Formula of Antioch have "born of a woman"; Basil speaks of the "birth from a virgin". "Of Mary the virgin through the Holy Spirit" occurs in the Creed of Niceta, but that is of far later date than Auxentius's infancy. The history of the appearance of this phrase in Creeds will repay attention. Outside the Creed of Auxentius it occurs first in Eastern baptismal creeds, in the Creed of Marcellus of Ancyra, *c.* 340, or if that be thought to be Western, then in the Creed of Niceta of Remesiana, 370–375.

The Creeds of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, of Antioch, and of Philadelphia have only "of the holy virgin Mary" with no mention of the Holy Spirit.

In Conciliar Creeds, the Council of Antioch against Paul of Samosata speaks of "the body from the virgin".

Council of Antioch, 341, First Formula, "of the (holy) virgin" (L. p. 23);
Council of Antioch, Second Formula, "of a virgin" (L. p. 23);
Council of Antioch, Third Formula, "of the virgin" (L. p. 25);
Council of Antioch, Fourth Formula, "of the holy virgin" (L. p. 26);
Council of Philippopolis, 343, "of the holy virgin";
Council of Antioch, 345, "of the holy virgin";
Council of Sirmium, 351, "of the holy virgin";
Council of Sirmium, 357, "from the womb of the virgin Mary";
Council of Sirmium, 359, "of Mary the virgin" (L. p. 27);

and the full phrase first occurs in the Creed of the Council of Nike 359, while its absence from the Creeds of Caesarea (Eusebius), Jerusalem (Cyril), and that of the Council of Nicaea would seem to show that it was rare in 325. The inference seems inevitable that it was more probably absent from the Creed of Cappadocia at the beginning of the fourth century than present in it, but that by the last quarter of the century it had become fairly common.

The phrase "Under Pontius Pilate"

This phrase has a somewhat similar history. It first appears in conciliar Creeds in that of the Council of Ariminum in 359. It is in the Creeds of Marcellus (340), Antioch (*c.* 360), the *Apostolic Constitutions*, and Niceta, but absent from those of Arius and Euzoius, Caesarea, Jerusalem, and Philadelphia. As it has no support in the parallels to the Creed of Auxentius I have omitted it from the earlier Cappadocian Creed.

One other remark; nowhere else than in Basil have we found "whence" before our Lord's coming to judgement. This word therefore would appear to be an integral part of the Cappadocian Creed in Basil's day, but not as early as the "infancy" of Auxentius.

Chapter V

THE CREEDS OF NICETA AND JEROME

I. The Creed of Niceta and Mai's Arian Fragments. II. The Creed of Jerome.

The Creed of Niceta of Remesiana (Burn, *Niceta*, p. lxxiv)	Mai's Arian Fragments (*Scriptorum veterum nova Collectio*, T. III, Romae, 1828)
	VII. Ipsi praeponunt Patrem Filio in symbolo dum dicunt:
Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem,	Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem,
caeli et terrae Creatorem;	Creatorem caeli et terrae?
Et in Filium Ejus, Jesum Christum, Dominum nostrum,	Credis et in Jesu Christo, Filio Ejus?
natum ex Spiritu Sancto et ex virgine Maria,	XV. templum suum quod sumpsit ex Maria virgine.
	de Maria natus est.
passum sub Pontio Pilato,	IV. qui pro nobis passus est;
crucifixum, mortuum,	
tertia die resurrexit vivus a mortuis,	qui resurrexit a mortuis...
ascendit in caelos,	qui ascendit super caelos...
	XVII. per...ascensionem in caelis.
sedet ad dexteram Patris,	IV. qui sedet in dextera Dei...[1]
	XIV. recipiens ad dexteram sedem suam;
inde venturus judicare	IV. qui judicaturus est...
vivos et mortuos;	XIV. venturus inde...judicare vivos et mortuos
Et in Spiritum Sanctum;	XV. Spiritum Sanctum, quem tertio loco a Patre post Filium in symbolo...tradimus.
Sanctam ecclesiam catholicam;	VIII. Nos ecclesia Dei sancta
Communionem sanctorum;	
Remissionem peccatorum;	VII. (Pater) remisit nobis peccata per Filium...
Carnis resurrectionem;	
Et vitam aeternam.	Daturus est Deus Pater justis vitam aeternam.

I. The Creed of Niceta and Mai's Fragments

Niceta preached in Latin because his congregation consisted largely of soldiers of the Roman garrison and their descendants. But the Creed reached Remesiana from the East and in Greek, and he gives a translation. This is shown by the form of the

1 Cp. Quia jussus *sedet ad dexteram Patris*, non nostro argumento docemus sed divinis scripturis, quantum valet exiguitate nostra. Domino adjuvante docemus. From an Arian sermon of 350–380 or 400 A.D. in a MS. in the Chapter Library at Verona. *J.T.S.* XIII. p. 23.

Creed; by the general spread of Christianity in the district south of the Danube; and by personal details respecting Niceta himself.

Gallican and Italian Creeds had uniformly in the second member, *qui* with the indicative, whereas Niceta has past participles; this shows that the Creed did not reach Remesiana from the West. Moreover, no Western Creed at this date had a phrase in the first article corresponding to *caeli et terrae Creatorem*, whereas this was a common feature in Eastern Creeds. Similarly, there is good reason to believe that the phrase *communionem sanctorum* first occurred in Creeds in Asia Minor (cp. the Marcosian Creed), and like *caeli et terrae Creator* it is of much later occurrence in Western Creeds, and the same is true of the epithet *catholica* as applied to the Church; and finally the concluding clause is of early date in the East, but not in Italian or Gallican Creeds before the fifth century. Moreover, if we extract peculiarities such as *ex Spiritu Sancto*, *vivus*, *inde*, *communionem sanctorum*, the general structure of the remainder bears a very close resemblance to Antiochene Creeds of the fourth century.

That the spread of Christianity over this region was from Asia Minor can best be visualized by looking at the map. At the time of the Council of Nicaea, except in some out-of-the-way districts, every second person in Armenia, Cyprus, Asia Minor, and the border country of Thrace over against Bithynia was at least nominally a Christian. Thence, aided by the great imperial road from Constantinople and the river Danube, Christianity is shown to have spread westwards over Moesia and Pannonia; but between Pannonia and Italy comes a belt of territory where no Christian settlements are known. If Christianity had radiated to any large extent from Rome, the whole of Italy would have been coloured like Asia Minor; Liguria, which is white, would have been like Moesia; and missionary activity would have pushed forward continuously eastwards from an advanced base in Lombardy and round the head of the Adriatic. What we see is a strip along the eastern coastline of Italy evangelized from Illyria and Dalmatia, where

Christianity was as early as the time of St Paul (Rom. xv. 19; 2 Tim. iv. 10). Moreover, Brundisium, in the heel of Italy, was the natural port for passengers who might travel by the Egnatian road through Thrace and Macedonia, to Dyrrachium or Avlona, as was Rhegium, at the toe, for water-borne trade *via* the Gulf of Corinth. In short, what we seem to see is the spread of a sea-borne Christianity to Africa, Sicily, Puteoli and the Greek settlements at the south and west of Italy rather than any great evangelistic effort with Rome as its starting-point. Nor is it otherwise if we turn to Northern Italy. The map suggests that the plain of Lombardy drew its Christianity from the East in much the same way as the valley of the Rhone was colonized by Greek settlers from the South and the valley of the Nile from Alexandria in the North, while the province of Venetia was Christianized by immigrants coming up the Adriatic.

In consequence Harnack would appear to have abundant justification for saying that the demeanour and position of bishoprics on the eastern side of Upper Italy show that their "authority was derived hardly from Rome (at least not ecclesiastically) but from the Balkan Peninsula. Ecclesiastically, it was a longer road from Rome to Ravenna and Aquileia than from Sirmium, Sardica, and Thessalonica. And this state of matters did not originate in the fourth century; on the contrary, it was not till then that, owing to the new political conditions of the age, the Roman Church exercised any perceptible influence over these towns and districts".[1] *A fortiori*, therefore, the Creed of Remesiana cannot have come from the West, and this is more abundantly clear the earlier we can date the Christianity of the regions south of the Danube. In Dalmatia to the west, in Macedonia and Thrace to the south and east were Christian settlements in early times owing nothing to Rome or Italy. The first notice that we have of Christianity to the north of them is in the *Acts of the Martyrs*, namely, that very many years (*plurimi anni*) had elapsed since Bishop Eusebius suffered martyrdom at Cibalae, in the south-east of Pannonia between the Danube and the Save. Eusebius the

1 *M. and E.* (2nd ed. 1908) II. p. 397.

historian writes that at the dedication of the church at Jerusalem in 335 the Moesians and Pannonians were represented by "the fairest bloom of God's youthful stock among them",[1] thus putting back the evangelization of these districts at least to the early years of the fourth century. At the Council of Nicaea in 325, there were present a Pannonian bishop called Domus, Protogenes, a Greek from Sardica, Pistus from Marcionopolis in Lower or Eastern Moesia; and about the year 337 Marcellus was entertained by a bishop at Naissus on his journey to Rome. The dioceses of Valens at Mursa to the north-west of Cibalae and Sirmium, and of Ursacius at Singidunum (Belgrade) at the confluence of the Danube and the Drave to the south-east of Sirmium, were without doubt ante-Nicene, and so was also the diocese of Victorinus at Petovia on the Drave at the extreme west of Pannonia, on the confines of Noricum. The *Acts of the Martyrs* also attest the presence of Christian communities at Scarabantia near Lake Pelso (Lake Balaton in Hungary); Sabaria (the birthplace of Martin of Tours), both west of Petovia; Siscia and Sirmium in Pannonia; at Tomi on the Black Sea and at Axiupolis and Dorostorum on the Danube in Lower Moesia.

Thus the course of Christianity in these lands was like its course in Lombardy and Gaul, in that it made its way up the river, in this case the Danube with its tributaries the Drave and Save, but it was helped also, and that mightily, by the great imperial road which ran from Constantinople through Adrianople, Philippopolis, Sardica, Remesiana, Naissus, Singidunum, Sirmium, Mursa, and Siscia, to Aquileia, and across the plains of Lombardy to Vienne and Lyons. Thus before the Council of Nicaea we find Christian communities each presided over by its bishop at a line of points near the western edge of Pannonia, Scarabantia, Sabaria, Petovia, Siscia, and Stridon, all deriving their Christianity from Asia Minor, either by way of the Black Sea and up the Danube, or by road.

The existence of Christianity in Remesiana as early as the beginning of the fourth century is sufficiently shown by its

1 *Vita Constantini*, IV. 48.

mere position on the road between Sardica and Sirmium, but it is corroborated also by the fact that Niceta, while still remaining its bishop, worked among the Bessi in the mountain range of Thrace which divides Thrace from Macedonia, a task which he would not have undertaken if his own diocese was still unsettled.

Niceta was himself apparently Greek, as his name shows, but ecclesiastically would seem to have looked towards Rome and accepted the fact that his diocese was within the Western Empire—and therefore beyond the limits of Eastern ecclesiastical jurisdiction—with a hearty acquiescence. An appellate jurisdiction, though of a limited kind, had been conferred on the Bishop of Rome by the Council of Sardica in 343. This would be a popular move among the orthodox, as Rome had been untouched by Arianism, which had overrun Asia Minor and spread widely in Pannonia. Moreover, the Roman colonies would feel themselves bound to their mother-city by more ties than that of language. In 398 Niceta made a visit to Paulinus of Nola and to Rome, and returned by way of some port in Epirus and Thessalonica, Stobi and Scupi, to Naissus. Dr Burn suggests that this visit may have had to do with the raising of Scupi to a metropolis at some date between 386 and 412.[1] But this casts no doubt on the fact that Remesiana derived its Christianity from the East. Niceta's list of canticles is Eastern rather than Western,[2] his introduction of antiphonal singing goes back to Basil of Caesarea,[3] and, as we have said, *Creatorem caeli et terrae* and *vitam aeternam* in his Creed are Eastern touches.[4]

In spite, therefore, of its marked resemblance in form to the Apostles' Creed, there can be no room for doubt that the Creed of Niceta is really Eastern. If our arguments on this head have been somewhat elaborate, it is because the point is of considerable importance.

Next, by comparison with the Arian Fragments from the region of the Danube, we notice that this type of Creed was not

1 *Niceta*, p. liii. 2 *Ibid.* p. xciv. 3 *Ibid.* p. xc.
4 Cp. *Introduction*, p. 261.

confined to Remesiana, but stretched over a larger district.[1] In this connexion we should notice the occurrence in both of *Creatorem caeli et terrae*, and *inde* before *venturus*. *Inde* (ἐκεῖθεν) is not found to the east of this district, and when it occurs in Creeds in the West, they are of a later date.

II. The Creed of Jerome

(Dom Morin, *Anecdota Maredsolana*, III. 3. p. 199.)

Credo in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem,
visibilium et invisibilium Factorem;
Credo in unum Dominum, Jesum Christum,
Filium Dei, natum de Deo, Deum de Deo,
Lumen de lumine, (omnipotentem de omnipotente),
Deum verum de Deo vero,
natum ante omnia saecula, non factum,
per quem facta sunt omnia in caelo et in terra,
qui propter nostram salutem descendit de caelo,
conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria virgine,
passus est passione sub Pontio Pilato (sub Herode rege),
crucifixus, sepultus,
descendit ad inferna, (calcavit aculeum mortis),
tertia die resurrexit, (apparuit apostolis),
(posthac) ascendit ad caelos,
sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris,
inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos;
Credo in Spiritum Sanctum (Deum non ingenitum neque genitum,
non creatum, neque factum, sed Patri et Filio coaeternum);
Credo remissionem peccatorum
in sancta ecclesia catholica;
Sanctorum communionem;
Carnis resurrectionem
ad vitam aeternam.

I have bracketed certain expressions which appear to be Jerome's own additions, and do not occur in any official Creed known to us. Jerome was born at Stridon in Pannonia, a town not far from Aquileia, about the year 346. His parents were orthodox Christians, but he was baptized in Rome under Liberius between 363 and 366, when he was from seventeen

1 Burn, *J.T.S.* III. p. 500.

to twenty years of age. He spent the years of 370 and 373 between his home at Stridon and Aquileia.

The earlier portion of his profession of faith is obviously based on the Creed of the Council of Nicaea (L. p. 22; H. pp. 5, 6)—naturally enough, seeing that Jerome was a Catholic and nearly all the bishops of Pannonia were Arians—and but for a few alterations is identical with it. Jerome omits "all" before "things visible and invisible" and "of one substance with the Father", and compresses "begotten of the Father, only-begotten, that is of one substance with the Father" into "begotten of God", and he expands "begotten not made" by adding "before all worlds"—a characteristically Eastern phrase—and for "who for us men and our salvation descended", writes "who for our salvation (omitting 'for us men') descended from heaven". Then he continues "conceived of the Holy Ghost from Mary the virgin". The nearest analogues to this phrase are in the Creed of Niceta, and in that of Auxentius of Milan, where it appears to be his own addition to his native Creed of Cappadocia.

Calcavit aculeum mortis reminds us at once of *Tu devicto mortis aculeo* in the *Te Deum*, which is now attributed to Niceta.

Inde before *venturus* occurs in Niceta's Creed and the Arian Fragments. *Sanctorum communionem* is in Niceta's Creed, and the epithet "catholic", and "eternal life" are both in Niceta's Creed and both, as we have seen, characteristically Eastern. These affinities make it clear that Jerome is drawing on the Creed of his native place, and that Stridon derived its Christianity from the East.

The resemblance of the Creed of Niceta to the Apostles' Creed is so close that Kattenbusch (II. 979) supposed it to be due to a back wave of influence from Gaul. This, however, can be shown not to have been the case. Niceta's Creed, with that represented by Mai's Arian Fragments, and the Creed of Jerome, form one group and are all Eastern. It follows, therefore, that the difference between Eastern and Western baptismal creeds has been much exaggerated.

But further: if we put together the matter common to the

other Creeds of Antiochene affinities which we have examined, the Creeds of Antioch itself, Philadelphia, Cappadocia, and those extracted from the Syriac *Didascalia*, and the *Homilies* of Aphraates, we shall arrive at something very similar to the Creed of Niceta. This second fac tends to show that the Creed of Niceta is a closer representative of the common tradition of Antioch than either of these parallel forms; in fact we might with little deviation from the truth construct a genealogical tree for Eastern baptismal Creeds:—the simple formula; the triple "God, Jesus Christ, Holy Spirit" (perhaps combined with the Matthaean); an early Creed of the type given by Irenaeus in his *Epideixis* which he took from his home in Asia Minor; a Creed closely resembling that of Niceta; the later Creeds such as the Antiochene, Philadelphian and Cappadocian. Such a pedigree would no doubt only approximate to the truth in actual historic fact, but it would exhibit in diagrammatic form real homologies of structure.

Chapter VI

THE EAST AND THE WEST

I. (*a*) Introduction, (*b*) Politics, (*c*) Ecclesiastical Areas, (*d*) Geography, (*e*) Summary. II. Northern Italy. III. Gaul. IV. Spain and Africa. V. The Growth of Papal Jurisdiction. VI. Liturgies.

I. (*a*) Introduction, (*b*) Politics, (*c*) Ecclesiastical Areas, (*d*) Geography, (*e*) Summary

(*a*) Introduction. The beginning of the separation of the Western from the Eastern Church is often dated from the Council of Chalcedon. It was in its earlier stages, at any rate, far more a question of rival jurisdictions than of doctrinal differences. Yet some anticipation of it might be found in the decisions of the Council of Constantinople in 381. That Council was at first presided over by Meletius, Bishop of Antioch, who died out of communion with the see of Rome; it condemned Maximus, who was received into the communion of the Churches of Northern Italy under Ambrose in May of the same year; and in place of him made itself responsible for the acceptance of the Emperor's nominee, Nectarius, and for his consecration; it recognized as a legitimate bishop canonically appointed Cyril of Jerusalem, whom Rome suspected both as being a heretic himself, and as invalidly consecrated by heretics. If we go behind this date, we find indeed that there were differences between the East and the West, linguistic, political and theological, but the line of demarcation between the three is never coincident.

The linguistic difference was due to the planting of Roman garrisons to guard the frontier of the Danube. The soldiers intermarried with the native inhabitants, and they and their descendants spoke Latin. On the other hand, traders and travellers of all kinds pushed from the Black Sea up the Danube; from Thrace along the Imperial road to the West; and into the interior from Macedonia and the Greek-speaking settlements of the South.

(*b*) Politics. But the main distinction was political. Diocletian divided the Empire into four parts, himself retaining Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt; he allotted to Maximian Italy and Africa; to Galerius Illyricum and the Danube; and to Constantine Britain, Gaul, and Spain; with centres of administration at Nicomedia, Milan, Sirmium, and Trèves respectively. Until the resignation of the two "Augusti", himself and Maximian, in 305, Diocletian maintained a kind of hegemony among the four colleagues.

The arrangements of Diocletian were completed by Constantine. At the head of the civil administration, under the Emperor, were four prefects; the prefect of the East, whose jurisdiction extended from the river Phasis on the eastern side of the Black Sea to the cataracts of the Nile, and from Persia on the East to Thrace on the West; the prefect of Illyricum, who ruled over Pannonia, Dacia, Macedonia, and Greece; the prefect of the Gauls from the wall of Antoninus in Britain, over Spain and Western Africa to the foot of Mount Atlas; and the prefect of Italy, who had under his charge in addition the dependent islands of the Mediterranean, Rhaetia as far as the banks of the Danube, and the continent of Africa between the Greater Syrtis and Egypt. Exempt from their jurisdiction were the prefects of Rome and of Byzantium. Subject to the prefect of Italy were two Vicarii; the Vicarius Urbis south of the Apennines, and the Vicarius Italiae to the north.

But more important in its ecclesiastical consequences was the dedication on 1 May 330 of New Rome on the site of the older city of Byzantium, known to subsequent ages as the city of Constantine.

(*c*) Ecclesiastical Areas. The boundary between the Eastern and Western churches was based upon political divisions; but when the Roman Empire was shared between the two sons of Constantine, Constans and Constantius, the distinction was emphasized by theological differences, for Constans was orthodox or Nicene, while his brother was Arian, and the power of the two potentates was exercised on opposite sides. Rome was untouched by Arianism and remained true to the catholic

tradition; Pannonia and Illyricum were predominantly Arian, possibly in large measure owing to the propagation of the heresy by Arius himself after his banishment; in this region were situated the dioceses of the notorious Arians Valens of Mursa and Ursacius of Singidunum. But the stronghold of Arianism was in Asia Minor, and thus theological opposition cut across political boundaries.

The political boundary line received a further emphasis from events connected with the Council of Sardica in 343. This Council was intended to be ecumenical, that is a council of bishops from the whole Roman world. Its site was chosen as being the most easterly town of any importance in the Western Empire. But when the Arians withdrew and held a rival synod at Philippopolis within the dominion of Constantius, hardly any bishops from the Eastern Empire remained at Sardica, and the Arians could claim that bishops of Alexandria, Ancyra, and Gaza (Athanasius, Marcellus, and Asclepas), who geographically belonged to the East and had been condemned by Eastern Councils—Arian, of course—ought not to be reinstated by a Council of the West.

But the Council of Sardica has also another importance, since from it may be dated the beginning of what is commonly, but incorrectly, called the Western or Roman Patriarchate.

In the sixth canon of the Council of Nicaea three sees are mentioned by name, Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, and the jurisdiction of the first two of them is recognized as being in some way similar. "Let the ancient customs prevail, namely those in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis; that the Bishop of Alexandria have power over these, since the same is customary for the Bishop of Rome. Likewise in Antioch and other provinces, that the privileges be secured to the Churches." The canon says nothing of the status of the Bishop of Rome in relation to the whole Church; its aim is to ratify the fullness of jurisdiction of the see of Alexandria which it possessed by ancient custom; the see of Rome is introduced by way of illustration and justification.

But over what area did Rome at this time exercise juris-

diction? Rufinus, in his free version, makes the canon ordain that the old customs should prevail in Alexandria "and" in Rome, not "as" in Rome, and describes the authority to be retained by the Roman bishop as the care of the suburbicarian Churches: *Et apud Alexandriam et in urbe Roma vetusta consuetudo servetur, ut vel ille Aegypti, vel hic suburbicariarum ecclesiarum sollicitudinem gerat* (*H.E.* I. 63). The suburbicarian Churches would be those in the civil province governed by the Vicarius Urbis, as distinct from the region of Northern Italy; and this is also the best explanation of the phrase addressed to Pope Sylvester by the Council of Arles in 314: *Tu qui majores dioiceses tenes.* Within this territory there would appear to have been no other metropolitan Churches.[1] Rufinus's statement no doubt expressed accurately the state of things in his own day (*c.* 400), and he could readily consult his bishop, Chromatius, who had baptized him some five and twenty years before; there was, therefore, a tradition in Aquileia that the Church of Rome had never exercised any jurisdiction over that district. But it is possible that Rufinus was merely adopting a version which was certainly in use in Africa in the fifth century: *Quoniam et urbis Romae episcopo similis mos est, ut in suburbicaria loca sollicitudinem gerat.*[2] This version has been attributed to Caecilian, Bishop of Carthage, who was present at the Council of Nicaea, but the attribution is not more than probable. Even however if both these suppositions are true, it would only mean that neither Africa nor Northern Italy regarded itself as being under the effective jurisdiction of the see of Rome.

Thus at Rome and at Alexandria there were in ante-Nicene

1 "Such terms as 'metropolitical jurisdiction', or 'higher metropolitical jurisdiction', cannot properly be used with reference to any of the Western provinces, for there was no metropolitical class in the West before 325 A.D., as there was in the East. All that transpired was the accruing of certain powers to Rome (and Carthage) under the practical exigences of the situation. We must think of these powers as in part less, in part greater, than those of the Oriental metropolitan centres, but in any case they were still indefinite—an indefiniteness which lasted down to the beginning of the fourth century, and which told in favour of Rome subsequently" (Harnack, *M. and E.* II. 252).

2 Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts*, p. 905.

times two quasi-patriarchates. Undoubtedly the see of Rome was in certain respects more powerful than any patriarchate; it had a primacy of honour throughout the whole Church, but its effective jurisdiction was confined, for the other Western provinces were practically autocephalous; there was no patriarch in Western Illyricum, North Italy, Spain, Gaul, Britain, or Ireland.

(*d*) GEOGRAPHY. The two main regulating principles of the authority of sees in early times were geographical facilities of access, and civil status, and the second was in large measure dependent on the first. Cities owed their importance primarily to their situation, and civil government naturally radiated from centres of population. A body of Christians would evangelize its immediate neighbourhood and from it individuals would move out not merely in order to preach in other parts, but in the natural course of their ordinary avocations. So a kind of ecclesiastical colony would be formed which during its period of immaturity would treat its mother-church with filial respect, and even after it had achieved a degree of relative independence, would still feel a tie of kinship, as did the Churches of Vienne and Lyons towards the Christians of Phrygia and Asia, though it might resent any attempt on the part of those outside to regulate its internal affairs. Thus the bishop of Carthage became the chief of the African bishops, because it was from Carthage that the first evangelists of the churches of Africa had gone forth; and their starting out was conditioned by the geographical disposition of the country which made Carthage a natural centre; while, on the other hand, distance, and the treachery of the Mediterranean, which at certain seasons rendered navigation dangerous for the small ships of the times, prevented Carthage from ever becoming an appanage of the country from which it had itself at first received its Christianity.

(*e*) SUMMARY. The general result was that ecclesiastical provinces varied in size, and the metropolitan of a large province would naturally be far more important than the metropolitan of a smaller one. Nor was there any uniformity in regard to the measure of authority delegated to him. In a small

province containing several flourishing churches, the suffragan bishops would have a very independent position, while in a large province with only one church of the first importance there would be a strong centralizing tendency, such as we see at Rome and at Alexandria. In ante-Nicene times the Bishop of Rome would naturally preside over all the bishops of Italy, and at a later stage the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica came under his jurisdiction, which, however, was afterwards abridged by the erection of metropolitical sees in the North.

II. Northern Italy

The only bishoprics in Northern Italy that have any serious claim to antiquity prior to the fourth century are those of Ravenna (Classis), Milan, Aquileia, Brescia, and Verona. Ravenna and Milan appear to have been evangelized about the beginning of the third century, or perhaps a little earlier, and Aquileia rather later. At the Council of Arles in 314 the Bishop of Aquileia was Theodore, and his deacon Agatho, both evidently Greeks. "The insignificance of the churches, even in the larger towns of Upper Italy about the year 300, seems to be proved by a passage from Paulinus Mediol. (*Vita Ambrosii*, 14), where we read that 'on the invitation of the Florentines, Ambrose travelled down as far as Tuscany...and erected a basilica in the city, where he placed the remains of the martyrs Vitalis and Agricola, whose bodies he had exhumed in Bologna. *For the bodies of the martyrs had been buried amongst the bodies of the Jews*, nor was their location known to the saints, had not the holy martyrs revealed it to the priest.' The Christian community at Bologna would seem therefore at the time of the Diocletian persecution to have been so small that it had no churchyard of its own."[1]

III. Gaul

How, then, did these districts of Gaul, Northern Italy, and Illyricum fare in the absence of metropolitans? They were

1 Harnack, *M. and E.* II. pp. 259, 260.

presided over by the leading bishop, or the bishop of the leading see, in much the same sort of way as the Archbishop of Canterbury presides at the Lambeth Conference. The case of Gaul may be taken as typical. The metropolitical system was being introduced into Gaul towards the close of the fourth century, but Christianity had been in Southern Gaul for at least two centuries earlier, as is shown by the letter sent by the Churches of Vienne and Lyons to the brethren in Asia and Phrygia in 177. It came to Gaul from the East, and most probably from Asia Minor. About a third of the martyrs in the persecution recorded in the letter bear Greek names, three at least being natives of Asia Minor. But though Irenaeus wrote Greek and spoke Celtic, the ecclesiastical language was Latin,[1] though certain larger cities, notably those in which there had been an early Greek settlement, as for instance Marseilles, Lyons, and Autun, were trilingual, speaking Greek, Latin, and Celtic. The independence of Lyons towards Rome is manifest in the Paschal controversy. Until the language of the Roman Church was Latin, that is, until the native converts outnumbered its Greek-speaking immigrants, it is clear that it could form no advance bases in Northern Italy for missions further afield. And this was a work of time. Up till the middle of the second century "in a city which, in spite of its cosmopolitan population, was still the representative of the Latin spirit, Christianity was the religion of many groups of various foreign origins",[2] and considered by the government and people as a foreign cult. Pope Anicetus (154–166 or 167), who was a Syrian by race, called upon the Asiatic group of Roman Christians to abandon their custom of keeping Easter on a different date from that of himself and his Church. Owing to the intervention of Polycarp he was induced to give up his attempt, and it was not until the time of Pope Victor (188–198) that a single liturgical rule could be enforced even in Rome itself. As regards Gaul Duchesne holds that "all the Christians from the Rhine to the

1 Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, I. pp. 101, 102. Cp. for the end of the first century Juvenal, *Sat.* vii. 147, 149.
2 La Piana, *Harvard Theological Review*, XVIII. 3, p. 210.

Pyrenees formed only a single community and recognized but one chief, the Bishop of Lyons";[1] but this seems an extreme interpretation of Eusebius's words "the parishes (παροικίαι) in Gaul over which Irenaeus presided";[2] it is far more probable that about the year 190, when the Paschal controversy was raging, Irenaeus presided as a quasi-metropolitan.[3]

The first effort on the part of Rome to send missionaries to Gaul is said by Gregory of Tours to have taken place under the Emperor Decius (*c.* 250). But this tradition is dismissed by Harnack as unworthy of credit,[4] while C. H. Robinson holds that owing to the disturbed state of Gaul from incursions of barbarians and intermittent persecutions their mission, if it ever took place, could have had but little effect.[5]

In 292, after the division of the Empire by Diocletian, Trèves became the residence of the Caesar who had the government of Britain, Gaul, and Spain, but during the following century owing to the continued advance of the Germanic hordes Trèves was all but abandoned and was superseded as the centre of all the higher administrative functionaries by Arles, which, for a short time, under the "usurper" Constantine (407–410), even became the capital of the Empire. Before this date, in 390, when Gaul was still without a full metropolitical system, the Gallican bishops found themselves in need of help and counsel. By that time Milan had become the metropolitical see of North Italy, so they applied to Ambrose and to Pope Siricius. Eight years later the Gallican bishops applied to the successor of Ambrose, Simplicianus, and to him only. A council of the bishops of the province was held at Turin, and its sixth canon refers to the letters of Ambrose and of the bishop of the Roman Church in this order.

It was not, in fact, until the time of Zosimus that the Pope "took the effective direction of the episcopate of the Gallic provinces, over which, up till that time, he had not been able to exercise more than a feeble and intermittent influence",[6] and

1 *Fastes Épiscopaux*, I. p. 40.
2 *H.E.* v. 23.
3 See Harnack, *M. and E.* I. pp. 452–482.
4 *M. and E.* II. p. 264 n. 1.
5 *Conversion of Europe*, pp. 167–168.
6 Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, p. 39.

he did so by the intermediation of Patroclus, Bishop of Arles, whom he made his vicar in 417; but when he summoned Proculus, Bishop of Marseilles, to Rome, Proculus treated the summons with contempt, and, moreover, persevered in this attitude after Zosimus's death, in the following year, and was left in peace by his successor.

IV. Spain and Africa

The independence of the Churches of Spain and Africa is shown simultaneously by the case of the two Spanish bishops Basilides and Martialis. Both had compromised with idolatry in the Decian persecution. Basilides resigned and his resignation was accepted by the bishops of the province, while Martialis was deposed by the same authority; both obtained recognition from the Pope, and returned to Spain; in the state of confusion which resulted the Churches in Spain wrote to Cyprian at Carthage. Cyprian ruled that the sentence of the synod of the province was final; that the see left vacant had been canonically filled up, and that the Pope's decision in regard to a matter outside his jurisdiction had no force. As regards Africa we meet with the same independence shown by Cyprian and the Councils over which he presided in the baptismal controversy, and by Aurelius and Augustine in the case of Apiarius in the early years of the fifth century.

V. The Growth of Papal Jurisdiction

The extension of the authority of the Pope was due to two causes, to the action of the Council of Sardica in 343, and to Imperial decrees. The canons of the Council of Sardica gave to the Roman see a certain measure of jurisdiction outside its own Italian domain. These canons were never received in the East in such sense as to be applicable there without radical modification: but in whatever Western province they were accepted, they had the effect of aggregating that province to what we may perhaps now begin to call the Roman "patriarchate". But the real foundation of the wider Roman jurisdiction was laid by the imperial constitutions, one promulgated by

Valentinian I at some date between 367 and 372, and the other by Gratian in response to a petition of a synod of bishops held at Rome under Pope Damasus in 382. Both by the Synod and the Emperor a distinction is made between the suburbicarian district over which the Bishop of Rome exercised immediate jurisdiction, and the more distant regions in which by this time there were metropolitical sees, as, for instance, at Milan. The effect of the legislation was to make Damasus "a very great potentate, a sort of spiritual prefect of the praetorium throughout the West; and as the prefects had their vicars, so the Popes would think it was natural for them to have their vicars also".[1] Thus Damasus gave to Ascholius and Anysius, successively Bishops of Thessalonica, "power to represent him in certain cases, while a permanent vicariate was first established by his successor Siricius, to whose action Leo the Great refers as a precedent for his appointment of Anastasius as his representative".[2]

The legislative acts of Valentinian and Gratian gave two new powers to the Roman see. The Pope became master of all the judicial processes by which metropolitans throughout the West might be tried, and ordinary bishops throughout the Western Empire who had been tried by some local synod might appeal either to the Pope or to a synod of fifteen bishops in their own neighbourhood. Thus the germ of a patriarchal jurisdiction was due to the Council of Sardica, but the Roman patriarchate was really due to the Emperors. No doubt Gratian's rescript was sanctioned by an Italian council held in Rome in 382, but such a council had no power to speak in the name of Gaul or Africa or Britain or Ireland. In consequence the new patriarchal jurisdiction met with determined resistance in Gaul and Africa, and was ignored in Britain and Ireland. Thus the pontificate of Damasus forms a new point of departure in regard to papal jurisdiction. But neither Damasus nor his successors cared to plead this imperial grant for their extended powers, but began to rest them on their rights as successors of St Peter. This is seen in the synodical letter which he sent to the bishops of the

1 Puller, *Primitive Saints*, p. 157. 2 Bright, *Roman See*, p. 110.

Eastern Empire in 376 or 377: "Most honourable sons; Inasmuch as your love renders to the Apostolic see the reverence that is due....For even though in the holy church in which the holy Apostle sat, and taught us how it becomes us to manage the rudder...." (Theod. *H.E.* v. 10.) And so Siricius in the decretal sent in 385 to Himerius, Bishop of Tarragona in Spain: "We bear the burdens of all who are heavily laden, or rather the blessed Apostle Peter bears them in us; for he, as we trust, in all things protects and defends us who are the heirs of his government".[1] Compare the letter of the Eastern bishops Meletius, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, etc. sent in 372: "To the most God-beloved and holy brethren and fellow-ministers, the like minded bishops of Italy and Gaul (including Pope Damasus)...greeting in the Lord." (Basil, *Ep.* xcii.)

Thus by imperial decree the whole of the Western Empire was placed in some sort of subjection to the Roman pontiff, but when in 379 the Emperor Gratian joined Theodosius to himself as a partner, the partition of the Empire did not run on precisely the old lines. Hitherto, as a rule, Eastern as well as Western Illyricum had belonged to the Western Empire; now Gratian gave up Eastern Illyricum to Theodosius. The organization of the Eastern Church had up to this time stopped at Thrace with its metropolis at Heraclea, on the Sea of Marmora. Thus the vast hinterland was left under diocesan bishops with no higher dignity among them, and though previously to the Council of Sardica the Pope had neither exercised nor possessed any jurisdiction in this region, the Council had given him a limited jurisdiction wherever its canons were received, and Western Illyricum was his by imperial decree. In consequence he dreamed of extending to the East the powers which were his in the West, and it was with this aim that he appointed as his vicar and guardian of his interests Ascholius, the Bishop of Thessalonica, by far the most powerful see of Eastern Illyricum, and the place fixed on by Theodosius as his residence when he first assumed the purple.

1 Coleti, *Concilia*, II. 1213.

VI. Liturgies

This being the course of history we should expect to find that previous to the pontificate of Damasus, the distinctive features of the Roman rite would not be found in Africa or in Italy north of the Apennines, Gaul, or Spain. And this is, in fact, the case. "In the Western portion of the Church...we find two rites in use in the early centuries—the Roman, then a purely local rite, used only (so far as our evidence shews) in the city of Rome, and perhaps also in the immediate neighbourhood; and the other, called Gallican, Gothic, Mozarabic, Celtic, in different localities, but really one and the same rite, and used over the whole of the West, with the exception of Rome, so that it might fitly be called the Western or European rite. There is no evidence that the Roman liturgy was used outside the immediate neighbourhood of Rome before St Augustine's arrival in England, although the book *de Sacramentis* and certain notices shew that it had begun to influence other rites in the fifth century. On the contrary the evidence of liturgical allusions (as far as they are conclusive) agrees with the 'Gallican' rite as against the Roman for Spain, France, the Celtic Church, and also in North Italy. In Africa the same may be said, except that the *Pax* had apparently the Roman position...The problem of the 'origin' of the Gallican liturgy is an imaginary difficulty. There was no 'introduction' of it into Gaul, since it was the *original* liturgy of the country."[1]

There are of necessity common features in all Christian liturgies; nevertheless they do fall into certain well-marked families. Between the prayers of the Roman and the Western rite "there is a difference, as great and as perceptible, as between the style of Addison and the style of Macaulay". "These early Gallican and Spanish books...evince a tone of mind, and are the product of a spirit alien to that which we have now become accustomed to regard as most befitting the Divine worship, tutored as we have so long been in the sobriety of Roman forms." "There is no possibility of mistaking a Gallican or Gothic for

1 W. C. Bishop, in *C.Q.R.* July 1908, p. 393.

a Roman book, and *vice versa*; and that, not for any recondite reason...not for any ritual peculiarity...but for a reason plain on the face of the books themselves—viz., a style, a run of thought, and a mode of expression, so clearly different as to declare the two things to be the product of the mind, spirit, and genius of two different peoples."[1]

But "the Gallican liturgy, in the features which distinguish it from the Roman use, betrays all the characteristics of the Eastern liturgies...some of its formularies are to be found word for word in the Greek texts which were in use in the Churches of the Syro-Byzantine rite in the fourth century, or somewhat later. This close resemblance, this essential identity, implies an importation".[2]

The African Liturgy or Liturgies were originally (so far as can be known) of a character similar to the Mozarabic, though it is quite possible that this similarity did not extend to every detail, and that St Augustine's Liturgy had been modified in certain points in the direction of the Roman rite—the most important of which is the position of the Pax....The book *De Sacramentis*...shows the very same phenomenon in another locality, and at the same period. In it we find an adaptation of the Roman canon for use in connexion with a rite which was originally not Roman, but either Ambrosian or closely allied to that rite.[3]

Thus the liturgical phenomena would suggest that Spain and Gaul, North Italy and Africa owed their Christianity, and in consequence their baptismal Creeds, originally to Asia Minor independently of Rome.

1 Edmund Bishop, *Genius of the Roman Rite*, pp. 8, 10, 25, reprinted in *Essays on Ceremonial*, pp. 287, 289, 300.

2 Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, p. 93.

3 W. C. Bishop, in *J.T.S.* XIII. p. 269. Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne*, I. p. 8, thinks that Christianity was probably introduced into Africa from Asia Minor but spread through the work of Roman missionaries.

Chapter VII

WESTERN EUROPEAN CREEDS

I. Spain: Priscillian and Gregory of Elvira. II. Gaul: Victricius of Rouen, Leporius of Trèves, Eligius of Noyon, Faustus of Riez, Cyprian of Toulon, the Antiphonary of Bangor. III. Northern Italy: Ravenna, Turin, Aquileia, Milan. Note: The *Disciplina Arcani* and the Creed.

I. Spain

Priscillian, *c.* 380 (L. pp. 10, 11).

Gregory of Elvira, 351–392 (*v.* Dom Morin's note in *J.T.S.* XII. p. 167).

Credimus in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem;
et in unigenitum Filium Ejus Jesum Christum, Deum et Dominum,
Salvatorem nostrum...
natum de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria virgine...
passum sub Pontio Pilato,
crucifixum et mortuum et sepultum,
secundum scripturas tertia die a mortuis resurrexisse,
assumptum in caelos sedere ad dexteram Patris,
inde venturum judicare vivos et mortuos...
...Spiritum Sanctum;
Remissionem peccatorum...
Hujus carnis resurrectionem.

That these Creeds are in some way independent of the contemporary Creeds of Gaul and Northern Italy is shown by the use of the participles *natum*, *passum*, etc., instead of *qui* with the indicative, these being alternative translations of Greek originals, as we have seen in Niceta's Creed (unless these are due to the phraseology of the sermons from which these Creeds are extracted). Further signs of eastern influence are given in *unum* in the first clause, and in the second clause also in Priscillian's Creed; and in *secundum scripturas* in that of Gregory; "according to the Scriptures" occurs in this connexion in the Creed of Antioch, the Nestorian Creed, and the Constantinopolitan or enlarged Nicene. The natural inference is that Christianity came to Spain from the East, and most probably from Asia Minor, by way of the Greek settlements on the coastline.

The curious order *Natum ex Maria virgine ex Spiritu Sancto* in the Creed of Priscillian has been thought to be connected with his heresy, but it occurs in documents as orthodox as Cyril's *Catecheses* (iv. 9), and an address on the Nicene Creed in the Gelasian Sacramentary (ed. Wilson, p. 55).

II. Gaul

Victricius of Rouen (*c.* 390–400), extracted from his *Liber de Laude Sanctorum*, c. 4.

. . . . . .
de Maria virgine
. . . . . .
passus est, crucifixus, sepultus,
tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,
ascendit in caelum,
sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris,
inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos;
et in Spiritu Sancto;
. . . . . .

Leporius of Trèves, who became a priest of Marseilles and fell into heresy, was converted by Augustine at Hippo, and on his return (415–420) presented a confession to the Bishops of Marseilles and Aix, including:

> Nascitur...de Spiritu Sancto et Maria semper virgine, Deus homo, Filius Dei...crucifixus est, mortuus, resurrexit.

Eligius of Noyon (588–659) wrote *de Rectitudine Catholicae Conversationis Tractatus*, which gives:

> Promisistis...credere vos Deum Patrem omnipotentem et in Jesum Christum, Filium Ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum, conceptum de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria virgine, passum sub Pontio Pilato, tertia die resurrexisse a mortuis, ascendisse in caelis. Promisistis deinde credere vos et in Spiritum Sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem, et vitam aeternam. (*Cod. lat. Monacensis*, 6430.)

These should be compared with the Creeds of Faustus of Riez (450–490), Cyprian of Toulon (c. 475–556), and the Antiphonary of Bangor (680–691). (L. pp. 12, 13.)

In the Creed of Faustus only the first portion down to *Maria virgine*, and the last from *Credo et in Spiritum Sanctum* can be relied on; see Lietzmann's note.

The Antiphonary of Bangor (L. pp. 13, 14) is an offshoot of the 'Western' or 'European' rite (Warren, *H.B.S.* II. p. xxxvi), and though it resembles the *Textus Receptus* is not based upon it.

III. Northern Italy

Ravenna and Turin, *c.* 450 (L. pp. 9, 10); Aquileia, *c.* 400 (L. p. 8; H. pp. 37, 38).

The Creed of Aquileia, as given by Rufinus, clearly belongs to the Western European group, but it contains several features which differentiate it from other Creeds of Northern Italy, Gaul, and Spain. Notable among these is the use of *in* with the ablative in expressing belief in the Persons of the Holy Trinity, as contrasted with the accusative without *in* in connexion with the Church and in the subsequent clauses. This use of the ablative seems peculiar to Aquileia.

Next we notice the epithets "invisible and impassible" used of God the Father. Rufinus writes: *Constat apud nos additos, haereseos causa Sabellii, illius profecto quae a nostris "Patripassiana" appellatur* and *videntur haec addidisse majores* (c. 5). The addition was certainly made before the struggle with the Arians, for the author of the *Explanatio Symboli ad Initiandos* blames the Church of Aquileia on the ground that the Arians used such phrases to support their heresy. Moreover, Rufinus suggests that the change was made at a time too remote for the details to be discoverable. There were three epochs in which Sabellianism flourished; at its first beginning when Praxeas and Noetus taught it at Rome at the end of the second century; about the year 260, when it was maintained in Libya; and in the second quarter of the fourth century when it was taught by the followers of Marcellus of Ancyra. Clearly the first of these is too early and the last too late, but there must have been considerable commercial intercourse between so important a place as Aquileia, which was on a navigable river, the Natiso,

and the great towns of Northern Libya such as Ptolemais, which Dionysius of Alexandria refers to as a stronghold of Sabellianism. Rufinus had himself spent so much time in the East that he naturally alludes to the heresy by its Eastern name as that of Sabellius; *Patripassiana* is obviously a word of Western coinage. The phrase added as an antidote, *invisibilis et impassibilis*, has an Eastern sound, and resembles the language used in the epistle of Ignatius to Polycarp (3; cp. Melito, *Frag.* 13) and in the letter given by Routh (*Rel. Sacr.* III. p. 209) and thought by him to have been written as a preliminary exhortation before the condemnation of Paul of Samosata in 269. A third peculiarity in which the Creed of Aquileia differs from other Creeds of the same group is the order *Christus Jesus*, *unicus Filius Ejus* as contrasted with the more usual *Jesus Christus*, *Filius Ejus unicus*. *Christus Jesus* would seem to be the order in the Creed of Peter Chrysologus of Ravenna (L. p. 9), but is in no other Western Creed of the group, nor was it in the Roman Creed some fifty years later as quoted by Leo. On the other hand it is in the Creed of Marcellus of Ancyra (H. p. 34), and in three very creed-like passages of Irenaeus (I. ii (L. p. 3); III. iv. 1; and IV. xxxvii. 2), so this order may very possibly be an Eastern symptom. This is almost certainly true of the second half of the phrase; the order given by Rufinus is exceptional, but τὸν μονογενῆ Αὐτοῦ Υἱόν occurs in the Fourth Formula of Antioch in 341; in the formula of the Third Council of Antioch in 345 (the Macrostich); in the Creed of the First and Third Councils of Sirmium in 351 and 357; and in that of the *Apostolic Constitutions*; the Arian Council of Philippopolis in 343 has *unigenitum Ejus Filium*; the Fourth Council of Sirmium in 359, ἕνα μονογενῆ Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, and the Council of Nike in 359, τὸν μονογενῆ Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ.

The full phrase *de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria virgine*[1] probably came to Aquileia from the Balkans, but is not peculiar to this Creed, and *Descendit ad inferna* probably travelled by the same route. *Hujus* (*carnis*) is improbable in the Creed of Niceta. It occurs independently in that of Gregory of Elvira.

1 Compare the Creeds of Jerome and Niceta.

Milan (L. pp. 8, 9).

Lietzmann's text is no doubt substantially correct, but in minute points a rigorous exactitude cannot be expected. Not only do the various sermons exhibit minor diversities, but the manuscripts of a single sermon often differ slightly among themselves, and besides Augustine himself warns us that the versions he employed in preaching were not always exactly the same as that given to catechumens. In a sermon on the Creed, delivered before an assembly of bishops at Hippo in 393, while he was still a presbyter, he says: "The dissertation is of such a form that that combination of words which is delivered to catechumens to be learnt by heart does not occur". Augustine's instruction that catechumens are to learn the Creed by heart and not write it down nor repeat it out loud except when called upon by proper authority is a commonplace; it occurs in Rufinus (c. 2; H. p. 123) and repeatedly elsewhere, but his own scrupulousness outruns this prescription and probably implies that the system was vigorously maintained at Milan, so that it would be impossible for anyone to learn the Creed there until shortly before his baptism. Certainly the substantial agreement of the many quotations from the Creed in Augustine's writings show that his reticence would be satisfied with very small variations, but we cannot feel absolutely confident from these sermons whether the Milanese Creed had *et Maria* or *ex Maria*; *in caelum* or *in caelos*; and in this state of uncertainty of details I think it more probable that it read *tertia die* than *tertio die* or *die tertia* as the first of them was undoubtedly the common form throughout Northern Italy.

NOTE

The *Disciplina Arcani* and the Creed

Rufinus (H. p. 122) gives two synonyms for *symbolum* as applied to the Creed. *Symbol*, in Greek, he says, answers to both *Indicium* and *Collatio* in Latin. *Collatio* means a joint contribution, and this the Apostles made, each contributing his several sentence. This idea is, of course, a myth. The story that the Apostles met together and drew up a form of doctrine and practice is found expressly stated in the preface to the *Didascalia* which is given in both recensions of the

Arabic, in the Mesopotamian codex of the Syriac edited by Mrs Gibson, and in all the manuscripts of the Ethiopic, and though this opening section is not contained in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, the story underlies the text and comes to the surface in the seventh and eighth books. Rufinus, therefore, does not appear to be drawing simply on his own imagination to provide an etymology, but to be enlarging on a legend which he had perhaps picked up in his travels in the East. The author of the *Explanatio Symboli ad Initiandos* states that this Creed was brought by St Peter to Rome, and in later times various writers assign one clause to each of the several Apostles, though not with complete uniformity.

As regards the second meaning, *Indicium*, or *Signum*, Rufinus says that many of the vagabond Jews went about naming the name of Christ but not delivering their message on the exact traditional lines: "The Apostles therefore prescribed this formulary as a sign or token by which he who preached Christ truly might be recognized". And he draws a parallel between the Creed and the use of a watchword in war, "so that if one is met with of whom it is doubtful to which side he belongs, being asked the symbol, he discloses whether he is friend or foe. And for this reason, the tradition continues, the Creed is not written on paper or parchment, but retained in the hearts of the faithful, that it may be certain that no one has learnt it by reading, as is sometimes the case with unbelievers, but by tradition from the Apostles" (c. 2; H. pp. 122, 123). This is part of the so-called *Disciplina arcani*. When we have got rid of Rufinus's embroidery we get down to what we may take to be substantial facts. In times of persecution some sign would be needed from a stranger by which it would be known whether he was a Christian, otherwise a spy or informer might easily enter the Christian assembly and subsequently denounce its members. This evidence might, of course, be furnished by letters from the bishop of the diocese from which he came, but such a method might be sometimes impossible and at others dangerous. The Creed would obviously supply a ready test if, as we know to have been the later practice, it was only taught to candidates at the end of their catechetical course, when their sincerity and faithfulness had been under scrutiny, and if it was kept as a secret not to be revealed. This, then, would appear to have been what the *Disciplina arcani* stood for in early times. Then, secondly, if heretics framed a Creed for themselves, as did the Marcosians, the "Symbol" would furnish a test of orthodoxy. It is this traditional usage which explains the conduct of Augustine; he is afraid that others besides Christians might get to know the Creed, and so might be able to misuse the Christian watchword. Finally, it is this practice, which survived as a religious custom after its original value had passed, that explains the use of the Creed as a part of their defence by persons accused of heresy. Eusebius might plead with some show of justice that the orthodoxy of his Creed proved him not to be an Arian, but over and over again

the Creed quoted had no bearing on the particular point at issue. Thus Marcellus, who was present at the Council of Nicaea and heard Eusebius give his Creed, and knew of his subsequent acquittal, quotes it Creed as part of his defence in his letter to Pope Julius. Thus Auxentius quotes his Creed to the Emperors Valentinian and Valens, and Charisius quotes his Creed at the Council of Ephesus. So, too, Caelestius and Pelagius quoted their Creed in their letter to Pope Zosimus. This custom of quoting a Creed in spite of the fact that it was irrelevant to the subject under discussion, needs an explanation. The explanation is found in the fact that it was the survival of a much older usage when the power of quoting the Creed was a real *Indicium* or *Signum* that the producer was a Christian.

The recital of the Creed to the bishop by the candidate for baptism apparently took place at Aquileia in private, for Rufinus (H. p. 124) praises the custom of the Church of Rome in which the Creed was recited *fidelium populo audiente*, so that the feelings of the audience prevented the slightest addition, or, we may add, any other alteration, to the regular formula. In other places he understands that additions have been made on account of heresies, as had in fact taken place at Aquileia.

Rufinus says that at Rome this was an old-standing custom; nevertheless we may doubt whether it was in all cases compulsory at a time which only preceded his own visit by some forty years, for Augustine says[1] that when the hour arrived for making this public profession of faith, which at Rome is made from a platform, in full sight of the faithful people, in a set form of words repeated by heart, the presbyters would have given Victorinus leave to make his profession in private, this being not unusual in the case of persons shrinking from so trying an ordeal. The conversion of Victorinus took place in 361 or earlier.

1 *Conf.* viii. 5.

Chapter VIII

THE CREED OF ROME IN THE FOURTH CENTURY, R.

I. The Common Nucleus of Western European Creeds. II. The Creed of Leo. III. The *Explanatio Symboli ad Initiandos*. IV. Their Agreement. Notes: A. Extracts from Leo's Sermons. B. The Text of the *Explanatio Symboli ad Initiandos* abbreviated.

I. The Common Nucleus of Western European Creeds

The Creeds of Spain, Gaul, and Northern Italy exhibit, as we have seen, a marked similarity alike in general structure and in wording. There are exceptional features both in the Creeds of Spain and in that of Aquileia, which, with at any rate fair probability, may be put down to Eastern influence, but even here they only seem to differ from a common nucleus, and it is highly probable that the common matter was not independent of the Creed of Rome, though it is a debatable point whether it is Rome that has influenced the formation of provincial Creeds or *vice versa*. If, neglecting the points of difference, we extract their common element we arrive at the following form:

Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem;
Et in Jesum Christum, Filium Ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum,
qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex (*or* et) Maria virgine,
(passus) sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus et sepultus,
tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,
ascendit in (*or* ad) caelum (*or* -os),
sedet ad dexteram Patris,
inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos;
Et in Spiritum Sanctum;
Sanctam ecclesiam;
Remissionem peccatorum;
Carnis resurrectionem.

And it is probable that the Creed of Rome would closely resemble this form.

II. The Creed of Leo

We have no direct quotation of the Roman baptismal creed which can be dated with certainty earlier than the Tome of Leo in 448, but Leo's excerpts are so much like the Creeds of Gaul and Northern Italy that they make it highly probable (1) that these phrases can be ante-dated at Rome by at least half a century, and (2) that the remainder of the Creed followed the same general lines.

The particular phrases quoted are:

> Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem;
> Et in Jesum Christum, Filium Ejus unicum,
> Dominum nostrum,
> qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto et Maria virgine (c. 2; H. p. 206)

and

> Crucifixus et sepultus (c. 5; H. p. 211).

References in Leo's sermons (1) make it somewhat doubtful if the Creed had "et Maria" or "ex Maria", and (2) help us to fill up some of the remaining clauses thus:

> Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,
> Ascendit in (*or* ad) caelos,
> Sedet ad dexteram Patris,
> ...venturus judicare vivos et mortuos.

It is probable also from the sermons that the Creed contained "passus", and if so then also "sub Pontio Pilato".

But for the feminine gender "tertia", this, so far as it goes, is precisely the Milanese Creed given by Lietzmann (pp. 8, 9) as derived from the sermons of Augustine.

This fact is remarkable. Auxentius the Arian was Bishop of Milan from 355–374, and he employed, as we gather from his letter, a Creed based on his native Creed of Cappadocia, with, as seems probable, additions inserted by himself, at least one of them, "invisible, impassible, immortal", being due to his Arianism. In consequence it would seem likely that the Milanese tradition was lost, or at least broken through. What, then, would the orthodox Ambrose be likely to do? The answer to be given to this question will depend on our knowledge of his personal

history. The father of Ambrose was a man of high position in the Imperial service, Prefect of the Gauls. Soon after the father's death, the family moved to Rome, where the sister of Ambrose, Marcellina, received the veil from Liberius about the year 353. Ambrose was at that time little more than a boy. He was educated at Rome and devoted himself to the study of the law, which was the usual path to the highest civil offices. Then he left Rome and practised at the court of the Praetorian Prefect of Italy, who finally advanced him to be "consular" magistrate of the provinces of Liguria and Aemilia. In consequence he went to Milan and was there suddenly called to the episcopate, *raptus a tribunalibus ad sacerdotium* he says of himself (*de Off.* I. 4), though he was not yet baptized, and would in consequence be ignorant of the Creed (cf. "Ecce ille non in ecclesiae nutritus sinu", *de Poen.* II. 8). Thus his mind would be saturated with Roman ideas, and it would be natural for him, in view of the Arian character of the Creed in use at Milan, to import the Creed of the Church of Rome which, as a bishop, he would experience no difficulty in ascertaining.

Nor are we left without some further indication that this is what he actually did. About the year 389 he wrote to Pope Siricius, *Credatur symbolo apostolorum quod ecclesia Romana intemeratum semper custodit et servat* (*Ep.* liii. 5). Thus he certainly held the Creed of Rome in high veneration; but he implies more than that, namely that other Churches had in some way tampered with it.

It is, I think, natural to interpret this language as a hit at the additions made in the *caetera loca* of Rufinus (H. p. 124), and especially in the Church of Aquileia. At any rate, it is a strange fact that the Creed of Milan in the time of Ambrose, before Rome had succeeded in exercising any jurisdiction there, should be identical, as far as the evidence goes, with the Creed of Rome, and a direct importation subsequent to the episcopate of Auxentius would seem by far the most satisfactory explanation of this phenomenon.

III. The *Explanatio Symboli ad Initiandos*

We are now in a position to call in further evidence. In 1833 Cardinal Mai published in the seventh volume of his *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio* a treatise entitled *Beati Ambrosii, Episcopi Mediolanensis, Explanatio Symboli ad Initiandos*. The MS. came to the Vatican from Bobbio, and is numbered Cod. Vat. 5760, saec. ix, x. Two other MSS. of this sermon are known, Cod. Lamb. saec. xiii from the monastery of Lambach, and Cod. S. Gall. 188, saec. vii, viii from that of St Gallen. Caspari, who has edited all three (*Quellen*, II. p. 48; III. p. 196), thinks that these latter go back to a common original. The two MSS. last named ascribe the authorship to Maximus of Turin and Augustine respectively, but on comparing the *Explanatio* with their authentic works, it is manifest that both these attributions are spurious. The Vatican MS. is a series of lecture notes, and abbreviates quotations from the Creed by giving only the first and last words; the other MSS. give a more polished recension of the text, but in the concluding portion fill up the blanks by the use of phrases of later date, as for instance, *sanctorum communionem*. This peculiarity arouses suspicion against their text in other portions, so we shall confine ourselves to the Vatican MS.

Putting together the phrases contained in these notes, we obtain:

> Credo in...Patrem omnipotentem;
> Et in Jesum Christum, Filium Ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum,
> qui natus est...Spiritu Sancto ex Maria virgine,
> sub Pontio Pilato passus,
> ...et sepultus,
> tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,
> ascendit...
> sedet ad dexteram Patris,
> ...et mortuos;
> Et in Spiritum Sanctum;
> In ecclesiam sanctam;
> In remissionem peccatorum;
> In...resurrectionem.

We must remember that these are merely lecture notes and allow for possibilities of error. I have put "In" before the

last three clauses, but the argument in the text has been much abbreviated, and it is quite possible that it represents rather the claim of one who thought "in" ought to stand here, though the lecturer himself took the opposite view.

IV. Their Agreement

Making these allowances, we see that the actual Creed form might well be in verbal agreement throughout, as it obviously is for the larger part, with the Tome of Leo and the sermons of Augustine, and the author, whoever he may have been lived not in the province of Aquileia, but near it, that is to say (by comparison with the Creeds of Ravenna and Turin (L. pp. 9, 10)), in the province of Milan; and when he claims, as he does, to be using the Creed of Rome, the claim is borne out by the text. There is some relation between this treatise and Rufinus, but the debt may well be on the side of Rufinus. Ambrose had a great reputation, and Rufinus may have had this treatise in mind amongst others when he says: "I find that some eminent writers have published treatises on these matters piously and briefly written"...."It shall be our endeavour either to restore and consign to the Apostles' words their own simple meaning, or to supply such things as seem to have been omitted by former expositors" (c. 1; H. pp. 121, 122). In any event we have here a treatise which purports to give the Creed of Rome; it agrees with the Tome of Leo and extracts from his sermons, which is at once a guarantee of its text and of the truth of its claim; and both these agree with the Creed of Milan as extracted from the sermons of Augustine. It is probable that Ambrose would import the Creed of Rome into Milan, since he had been educated in Rome; the Milanese tradition had been broken through; and, as we see from his letter to Pope Siricius, he held the Creed of Rome in high esteem. These arguments are independent and too strong in mutual support to allow us to doubt that we have recovered the Creed of Rome as it was in the time of Ambrose, *c.* 380.

Whether the *Explanatio* is his work is a secondary question.

It would seem to belong to the province of Milan; its attribution is consonant with all that we know of Ambrose; the conflict with Arianism, to which it witnesses, shows that it cannot be much later than 400. There would seem no good reason for not following Bardenhewer, Brewer, Burn and Caspari in acknowledging it to be his.

Doubtful points may be helped out by a slightly enlarged form of the Creed contained in Codex Sessorianus 52, which reads *et* Maria virgine: and *ad* caelos; omits passus and est after venturus; and adds catholicam and vitam aeternam. Certain clauses also appear to be quoted almost verbatim in the *Quicumque Vult*, qui passus est (pro salute nostra), (descendit ad inferos), resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad caelos, sedit ad dexteram Patris, inde venturus judicare vivos et mortuos. The resulting form is given on p. 95.

But if the Creed of Milan was imported from Rome by Ambrose we have yet to ask how it came to possess this form; what it was like at an earlier period, say the early portion of the third century; and if, as we should gather from the analogy of Eastern Creeds, it was then simpler and briefer, we have to suggest conditions under which it might have been modified. But before we can deal with these questions, we must first pay attention to the letter of Marcellus to Julius, which has been supposed to give the Creed of Rome as it was in 340, and by comparing earlier and later forms of Creed to deduce some "law of growth" to be a guide to us in our investigations.

NOTES

A. Extracts from Leo's Sermons

xxv. 2. Consummato passionis et resurrectionis triumpho... renovat tamen nobis hodierna festivitas *nati Jesu ex Maria virgine* sacra primordia... sicut cum *Christo* in *passione crucifixi*, in *resurrectione* resuscitati, in *ascensione ad dexteram Patris* collocati....

xxvii. 6. Idem erat... per humanam infirmitatem *crucifixus*, mortuus, et *sepultus*, per divinam virtutem *die tertia* resuscitatus, *ascendit ad caelos, sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris*.

xxix. 5. Idem est a paterno non divisus throno, et ab impiis *crucifixus* in ligno. Idem est super caelorum altitudines victor mortis *ascendens*.

...Idem postremo est qui in eadem qua *ascendit* carne *venturus* sicut judicium sustinuit impiorum, ita *judicaturus* est de omnium actione mortalium.

xxxiii. 4. Negent Eum pro mundi salute *crucifixum*,...negent Eum *Sepultum* ac *die tertia* suscitatum, negent Eum *in dextera Patris* super omnes caelorum altitudines elevatum et ut tota *Apostolici* veritate *Symboli* sublata...negent a Christo *vivos et mortuos judicandos*.

xlv. 3. Hoc fixum habete in animo, quod dicitis in *symbolo*. Credite consempiternum *Patri Filium Dei*...hunc corporaliter *crucifixum*, mortuum, suscitatum, et super altitudines caelestium dominationum elevatum, *in Patris dextera* constitutum ad *judicandum vivos et mortuos* in eadem carne quo *ascendit*, *venturum*.

lx. 2. Hac fidei regula, dilectissimi, quam in ipso exordio *Symboli* per auctoritatem *Apostolicae institutionis* accepimus, *Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum*, quem *Filium Dei omnipotentis unicum* dicimus, eundem quoque de *Spiritu Sancto natum ex* (al. et) *Maria virgine* confitemur.... *Ipsum crucifixum et mortuum et die tertia* credimus suscitatum.

lxv. 5. Secundum propositum voluntatis suae *Jesus Christus crucifixus* et mortuus *et sepultus est*.

lxviii. 4. Quis vere *Christum passum*, mortuum et resuscitatum colit, nisi cum Ipso *patitur et mortuus et resurgit*?...*Natis de Spiritu Sancto* quantumque superest mundani temporis, non sine *crucis* susceptione ducendum est.

Qui ascendit in caelos, non deserit adoptatos; qui *sedet ad dexteram Patris*, Ipse totius habitator est corporis.

lxxi. 4. Per omne ergo hoc tempus, dilectissimi, quod inter *resurrectionem Domini* et *ascensionem* Ejus exactum est, hoc providentia Dei curavit...ut *Dominus Jesus* vere agnosceretur resuscitatus qui vere erat *natus et passus et* mortuus.

lxxii. 2. *Dominus noster Jesus Christus*, quadragesimo post *resurrectionem* die...elevatus *in caelum*...mansurus in *Patris dextera*... *ad judicandos vivos et mortuos* in eadem carne, in qua *ascendit*, adveniat.

lxxii. 3. Hanc fidem *ascensione Domini* auctam. Unde et ipsi beati Apostoli...atrocitate tamen Dominicae *passionis* expaverant, et veritatem *resurrectionis* Ejus non sine haesitatione susceperant....Totam enim contemplationem animi in divinitatem *ad Patris dexteram consedentis erexerant*.

lxxii. 4. Cum autem *ascendentem ad caelos Dominum* sequaces discipulorum oculi...suspicerent.

Sicut enim concipiendum Christum *de Spiritu Sancto* beatae virgini angelus nuntiavit, sic et editum *de virgine* vox caelestium pastoribus cecinit, sicut *resurrexisse a mortuis* supernorum nuntiorum prima testimonia docuerunt, sic *ad judicandum* mundum in ipsa carne *venturum* angelorum officia praedicarunt.

B. The Text of the *Explanatio* Abbreviated

Symbolum graece dicitur, latine autem collatio....Sancti ergo Apostoli in unum convenientes, breviarium fidei fecerunt....Sed... quod et quae primo tradita sunt a majoribus nostris, dum quasi fraude alii, alii diligentia, fraude haeretici, diligentia catholici; dum ergo illi fraudulenter conantur inrepere, addiderunt quod non opus est.

Ergo Apostoli sancti convenientes fecerunt symbolum breviter. Signate vos....Frequenter admonui quod *Dominus noster, Jesus Christus, Filius Dei* solus istam carnem suscepit...non enim ex virili *natus* est semine sed generatus *Spiritu*, inquit, *Sancto ex Maria virgine*....

Sed dicis mihi, postea emerserunt haereses. Quid ergo? Vide simplicitatem, vide puritatem, Patripassiani cum emersissent, putaverunt etiam catholici *in hac parte* addendum *invisibilem et impassibilem*, quia Filius Dei visibilis et passibilis fuerit....Ex illo remedio Arriani invenerunt sibi genus calumniae, et quoniam *symbolum Romanae ecclesiae nos tenemus*, ideo visibilem et passibilem *Patrem omnipotentem* illi aestimarent et dicerent; vides quia symbolum sic habent, ut visibilem Filium et passibilem designarent....Hinc symbolum: *Credo unicum Dominum nostrum.* Sic dicite: *Filium Ejus unicum.* Non unicus Dominus? Unus Deus est, unus et Dominus; sed ne calumnientur et dicant, quia una persona, dicamus *Filium* etiam *unicum Dominum nostrum.* Quia de divinitate Patris et Filii venitur ad incarnationem Ipsius, *qui natus et sepultus*, habes et passionem Ipsius et sepulturam. *Tertio die a mortuis*; habes et *resurrectionem* Ejus. *Ascendit et sedet ad dexteram Patris*....Duo habes; surrexit a morte, *sedet ad dexteram Patris.*

Sane accipe rationem quemadmodum credimus in auctorem; en forte dicas, sed habet *in ecclesiam*, sed habet et *in remissionem peccatorum*, sed habet *in resurrectionem.* Quid ergo? Par causa est. Sic credimus *in Christum*, sic credimus *in Patrem*, quemadmodum credimus et *in ecclesiam*, et *in remissionem peccatorum*, et *in carnis resurrectionem.* Quae ratio est? Quia qui credit in auctorem, credit et in opus auctoris....

In ecclesiam sanctam, et in remissionem peccatorum. Crede ergo ex fide, quia omnia tibi peccata remittuntur. Ergo dixi apostolos symbolum composuisse. Si ergo mercum istarum negociatores et collatores pecuniae hanc habent legem, ut siqui symbolum suum violaverit, improbus et intestabilis habeatur, multo majus cavendum est nobis, ne de majorum symbolo aliquid detrahatur; cum habeas in libro Apocalypsis Johannis..."siqui", inquit, "addiderit aut detraxerit judicium sibi sumit et poenam". Sic unius Apostoli scripturis nihil est detrahendum nihil addendum, quemadmodum nos *symbolo quod accepimus ab Apostolis traditum atque compositum*, nihil debemus detrahere, nihil adjungere. *Hoc autem est symbolum quod Romana*

ecclesia tenet, ubi primus apostolorum Petrus sedit, et communem sententiam eo detulit.

Ergo quemadmodum duodecim Apostoli, et duodecim sententiae Signate vos. Quo facto: *Credo virgine*; habes incarnationem Filii, quemadmodum dixi. *Sub Pontio Pilato passus et sepultus*; habes passionem et sepulturam. Ecce quattuor sententiae.... *Tertia die et mortuos.* Ecce aliae quattuor sententiae. *Et in Spiritum Sanctum resurrectionem.* Ecce secundum duodecim apostolos, et duodecim sententiae comprehensae sunt.

Chapter IX

THE CREED OF MARCELLUS OF ANCYRA
(H. p. 34)

Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra, was a zealous supporter of Athanasius at the Council of Nicaea in 325, and obtained a good report, as Pope Julius afterwards told the Eusebians, for contending earnestly for the Catholic Faith. It was at this Council that Eusebius, being under accusation as an Arian, put forward his Creed as part of his defence. Later on, in controversy with Asterius, Marcellus is said to have fallen into a heresy combining the errors of Sabellius and Paul of Samosata. This he embodied in a book in which he said that the kingdom of Christ was not perpetual and that He had been made the image of the invisible God at the conception of His body (Hilary, *C.S.L.* lxv. pp. 49, 50).

Whether the accusation was true or false only now concerns us thus far, that in a letter to Pope Julius he quotes the Lucan phrase "Of whose kingdom there shall be no end" as expressing his own belief. In 336 he was condemned as a heretic in the Arian Council of Constantinople and expelled from Ancyra, but after the death of Constantine there is reason to think that he regained his see along with the other exiled bishops (Ath. *Hist. Arian.* 10) but that disturbances again broke out (*Apol. c. Ar.* 33; cf. Soz. *H.E.* III. 2) and that he was again expelled.

The Eusebians wrote a letter to Julius denouncing Marcellus as a heretic and asking him to refuse to recognize the restoration of Athanasius, but the bearers were refuted and exposed by certain presbyters sent by Athanasius, and withdrew hurriedly after requesting Julius to summon a council in which the whole matter might be re-examined. In consequence of this letter Marcellus betook himself to Rome, travelling by land. On his way he won over Protogenes of Sardica, who had previously signed his condemnation, and, apparently, Gaudentius of Naissus, whose predecessor Cyriacus had also signed it, though this is not quite so explicitly stated (Hilary, *l.c.* pp. 49, 68).

Marcellus seems to have arrived in Rome early in 340, and

there to have met Athanasius, and with him he was admitted by Julius to communion. Julius fell in with the Eusebian suggestion, and accordingly in the autumn sent a letter to the Eusebians inviting them to attend a council to be held in Rome in December of the same year. But they detained the envoys till January 341 and then sent back a defiant answer. As he had now waited fifteen months in all, and was about to leave, Marcellus, seemingly at Julius's request, wrote him a letter in his own defence and asked Julius to enclose a copy of it in his letter of summons to his suffragans. Some time later more than fifty bishops met in a council at which Athanasius was present, where they had the letter of Marcellus before them, and confirmed the action of Julius in regard to Athanasius and Marcellus, and asked him to report their decision to the Eusebians.

In his letter to Julius (Epiph. *adv. Haer.* lxxii) Marcellus first gives the reason for his presence in Rome; he wished, he said, to suggest that Julius should summon his accusers, so that he could show that their charges were false and that they still maintained their old heresies. But when they refused to come, he thought it necessary, as he was about to leave, "to deposit with you my faith in writing—having written it with all truth with my own hand—which I learnt and was taught out of the Holy Scriptures" (*ἔγγραφον τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ πίστιν μετὰ πάσης ἀληθείας τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ χειρὶ γράψας ἐπιδοῦναι, ἣν ἔμαθον, ἔκ τε τῶν θείων γραφῶν ἐδιδάχθην*). Then follows a paragraph in which he lays bare the heresies of his accusers and gives a doctrinal exposition of his own belief, in the course of which he quotes the phrase "of whose kingdom there shall be no end". At its close he resumes his original purpose and begins "I believe, therefore" (*πιστεύω οὖν*), which is followed by the remainder of the Creed. After this comes another doctrinal exposition and finally "having received this faith (*πίστις*) from the Holy Scriptures and been taught it by my ancestors in God, I both preach it in the Church of God, and have now written to you, keeping a copy of this document by me" (*τὴν ἀντίγραφον τούτου παρ' ἐμαυτῷ κατασχών*), and then he begs Julius to insert a copy in his letter of summons.

After the Council Julius wrote to the Eusebians that Marcellus "being requested by us to give an account of his faith, answered in his own person with the utmost boldness, so that we were obliged to acknowledge that he maintains nothing except the truth. For he confessed that he held the same godly doctrine about our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ as the Catholic Church holds, and he affirmed that he had not recently adopted these opinions but had held them for a very long time; as indeed our presbyters, who had been present at the Council of Nicaea, testified to his orthodoxy" (Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.* 32).

In 343 Marcellus and Athanasius were at the Council of Sardica, at which Gaudentius of Naissus was also present, and, naturally, Protogenes of Sardica. The Council had under consideration Marcellus's book and also his letter to Julius, including the Creed. "He went up to Rome", says Athanasius, "and there made his defence, and being required by them (*ἀπαιτούμενος παρ' αὐτῶν*, as Julius said) he offered a written declaration of his faith (*δέδωκεν ἔγγραφον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πίστιν*, the very words of Marcellus), which the Council of Sardica (subsequently) accepted" (*Hist. Arian.* 6).

The first point is that we have not to deal with a mixed Romano-Ancyran form. Marcellus states that he wrote with his own hand and with the greatest accuracy and kept a copy himself. The Creed he gives, therefore, is either Roman, the Creed of Julius, or Ancyran, the Creed of his own diocese. And secondly, while the only argument in favour of the Creed being that of Rome is its similarity to Western Creeds which become known to us at a rather later date, there is on the other side a large number of cumulative and independent probabilities.

Marcellus is giving in his letter a written defence of his orthodoxy at the time of his condemnation and subsequently.

When Eusebius produced his Creed at the Council of Nicaea, Marcellus had been present and had acquiesced in his acquittal. Accordingly in quoting his own Creed in circumstances somewhat similar, he would be following a successful precedent.

On his way to Rome he had won over Protogenes, if not also

Gaudentius, and probably by the same method as he used in Rome; and if so, he must have employed his own Creed, and this would furnish a precedent for his use of it at Rome.

Neither Julius, nor Athanasius, nor Marcellus himself gives the least hint that he had substituted the Creed of Rome for his own, and if in his letter πίστις does not refer exclusively to his general dogmatic position but includes the Creed, Marcellus's language explicitly asserts that the Creed he gives is that of Ancyra.

And the words he uses in this connexion are markedly similar to those used by Eusebius, by Arius and Euzoius, and by Auxentius; and on each occasion the Creed produced is at the least based upon the Creed of their respective dioceses.

Nor would such a substitution be politic. It would not suggest that Marcellus was innocent of the heresy for which he was condemned in 336, if, in the course of his defence, he abandoned his own Creed for another, but at the best could only imply that he had changed his former dogmatic position and now adopted that of Rome: a plea for mercy, but also an implicit confession of former guilt.

And his letter was submitted to the Council of Sardica at which Protogenes and Gaudentius were present, and the whole of the proceedings would come before his own diocese into which he was to be reinstated, and where there was a party opposed to him. This must have been perfectly clear to Marcellus and was probably one of the motives which induced him to keep a copy of his letter, and Marcellus's feeling with regard to his diocese may be judged by the extreme sensitiveness shown by Eusebius in his letter in somewhat similar circumstances (G. pp. 178–189).

Thus there is no argument in favour of supposing a substitution of the Roman for the Ancyran Creed in Marcellus's letter, except the likeness of the Creed he produces to other Western Creeds which become known to us at a rather later date, but there are great probabilities against any such line of conduct.

When we examine the wording of the Creed all these probabilities receive strong support. The Creed differs in several

respects from the Creed of Rome of some forty years later, and agrees equally closely with the Creed of Niceta of Remesiana, which, supported as it is by the Arian Fragments and by the Creed of Jerome, must be allowed to be Eastern. Moreover each of these differences has Eastern affinities. The omission of "Father" in the first clause has numerous parallels within the province of Antioch. The order "Christ Jesus" has analogies in the East but none in the West except in the Creeds of Hippolytus and Rufinus, in both of which it is probably an Eastern feature. The omission of "suffered" agrees with Rufinus but not with the Roman Creed as exemplified by Augustine, the *Explanatio*, most probably Leo, and by Western Creeds generally. "Whence" of the coming to Judgement is found only here and in Basil, and Basil lived at Caesarea in Cappadocia which was connected by a high road with Ancyra, and he was associated with Basil of Ancyra in 348, and corresponded with his successor, Athanasius. We may therefore call this word a peculiarity of the district of Galatia and Cappadocia.

"The Holy Spirit", in this order, is common in Eastern Creeds, whereas the Creed of Rome had consistently "in Spiritum Sanctum". And "Eternal Life" is another common Eastern feature, but absent at this date from the Creed of Rome.

Thus the historical probabilities, the resemblance of structure to the Creed of Niceta, and the details of language combine to assure us that the Creed produced by Marcellus is that of his own diocese.

Chapter X

HOW CREEDS GROW

I. The Interrogatory Creed of Rome. II. The Roman Declaratory Creed of the Fourth Century, R, and the Textus Receptus, T. III. The Creed of Antioch and the Nestorian Creed. IV. The Creed of Nicaea and the Creeds of Jerome, Epiphanius and Constantinople.

It is not often that we can catch a Creed at different stages of its growth. We have, however, two examples connected with Rome, the Interrogatory Creed at three different epochs, and the Declaratory Creed of the fourth and of the seventh centuries. In both cases the Creed grew merely by means of additions without corresponding omissions, and with no alterations in the order of words except when necessitated, e.g. "natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria virgine" to "conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto natus Maria ex virgine".

I. The Interrogatory Creed of Rome

Gelasian Sacramentary	*Gregorian Sacramentary*	*Modern Form*
Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem?	Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, *Creatorem caeli et terrae*?	Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, Creatorem caeli et terrae?
Credis et in Jesum Christum,	Et in Jesum Christum,	Credis et in Jesum Christum,
Filium Ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum,	Filium Ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum,	Filium Ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum,
natum,	natum,	natum,
et passum?	et passum?	et passum?
Credis in Spiritum Sanctum;	Credis in Spiritum Sanctum;	Credis in Spiritum Sanctum;
Sanctam ecclesiam;	Sanctam ecclesiam *catholicam*;	Sanctam ecclesiam catholicam; *Sanctorum Communionem*;
Remissionem peccatorum;	Remissionem peccatorum;	Remissionem peccatorum;
Carnis resurrectionem?	Carnis resurrectionem?	Carnis resurrectionem; *Et vitam aeternam?*

II. Roman Declaratory Creed

R. *c.* 400	Textus Receptus (T), *c.* 650
Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem;	Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem *Creatorem caeli et terrae*;
Et in Jesum Christum,	Et in Jesum Christum,
Filium Ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum,	Filium Ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum,
qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto,	qui *conceptus* est de Spiritu Sancto,
ex (*or* et) Maria virgine,	natus ex Maria virgine,
passus sub Pontio Pilato,	passus sub Pontio Pilato,
crucifixus, et sepultus,	crucifixus, *mortuus*, et sepultus,
	descendit ad inferos,
tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,	tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,
ascendit ad (*or* in) caelos,	ascendit ad caelos,
sedet ad dexteram Patris,	sedet ad dexteram *Dei* Patris *omnipot ntis*,
inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos;	inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos;
Et in Spiritum Sanctum;	*Credo* in Spiritum Sanctum;
Sanctam ecclesiam;	Sanctam ecclesiam *catholicam*;
	Sanctorum communionem;
Remissionem peccatorum;	Remissionem peccatorum;
Carnis resurrectionem.	Carnis resurrectionem;
	Vitam aeternam.

III. The Creed of Antioch and the Nestorian Creed (L. pp. 18–20)

In the East it is certain that the Creed of the so-called Nestorians of Mesopotamia was derived from that of Antioch. "Solum verum" is omitted; "Dominum nostrum" changed to "one Lord", and "ex eo" to "from His Father", the Syriac representing, no doubt, the Greek ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός. The whole of the rest, where we have the text of the Creed of Antioch, consists of additions.

Antioch		Nestorian
et solum verum		om.
nostrum		one.
ex Eo.		from his Father
	add	men and for our salvation
	,,	from heaven
	,,	and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost
	,,	and became man, and was conceived
	,,	and He suffered,
	,,	and He sat at the right hand of God the Father.

After this point the Antiochene Creed is defective.

IV. The Creed of the Council of Nicaea, N, and the Creeds of Jerome, Epiphanius, and Constantinople, C

Similarly the Creed of Jerome consists of an amalgamation of the Creed of the Council of Nicaea, the local baptismal Creed of Stridon, and certain phrases added by Jerome himself. Jerome has the triple "Credo", once with each Person of the Trinity, instead of the single "We believe"; he substitutes "God" for "the Father" in the second clause; he omits "only begotten", the explanatory clause "that is of the essence of the Father", and "of one substance with the Father", "for us men", and "was incarnate". All the rest consists of additions, and there is no interference with the original order of words.

The Longer Creed of Epiphanius reproduces the Nicene Creed verbally down to the article dealing with the Incarnation, with the two exceptions that Epiphanius reads "invisible and visible" in the first clause and adds "visible and invisible" after "the things in heaven and the things in (*or* on) earth". He adds two clauses shown to be explanatory by the introductory "this is", the latter of considerable length. There are also two other explanatory clauses not so designated, "the same in flesh", and "in the body itself", and probably none of them was intended for recitation by the catechumen in his delivery of the Creed, but they are rather hints to the catechist. He omits "the third day", and then comes an addition, probably from the local baptismal Creed of Cyprus: "He sat gloriously at the right hand of the Father", where "gloriously" is probably no more intended to be recited than the next clause, "in the body itself in glory". And finally, in all probability from the Cypriote Creed, he adds "of whose kingdom there shall be no end". Then he begins the third article with "And in the Holy Spirit", which is as far as the Nicene Creed takes us.

A comparison with these two examples will make it clear that the Constantinopolitan Creed is also based on the Nicene. Here indeed we do encounter some other alteration in the order of the words, but each alteration is *necessitated by the additions*

Alterations only are here given and referred to the Nicene Creed as the standard

N (L. p. 20; H. p. 5)	Jerome	Ep. (L. pp. 17, 18; H. pp. 16–18)	C (L. pp. 31, 32; H. pp. 20–22)
Πιστεύομεν	Credo		
πάντων	om.		*ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς,*
ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητήν		*ἀοράτων τε καὶ ὁρατῶν*	*ὁρατῶν τε πάντων κ. ἀοράτων*
Καὶ	Credo		
γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς	natum de Deo		*τὸν μονογενῆ τ. ἐκ τ. Π. γ.*
μονογενῆ	om.		*πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων.*
τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Π.	om.		om.
Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ			om.
	(omnipotentem de omnipotente)		
	ante omnia saecula		
ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί	om.		om.
τά τε ἐν τ. οὐρανῷ κ. τ. ἐν τ. γῇ	om.	*ὁρατά τε καὶ ἀόρατα*	om.
τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους	om.		
	de caelo		*ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν*
καὶ σαρκωθέντα	conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto	[*τουτέστι γεννηθέντα τελείως*	*ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου*
	natus de Maria virgine	*ἐκ τ. ἁ. Μ. τ. ἀειπαρθένου διὰ Π. Ἁ.*]	*καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου*
καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα	om.	[*τουτέστι . . . βασιλεύς*]	
παθόντα	(passione) sub Pontio Pilato	[*δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν σώματι*]	
	(sub Herode rege)		*σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν*
	crucifixus, sepultus		*ἐπὶ Π. Π. κ. παθ. κ. ταφέντα*
	descendit ad inferna		
	(calcavit aculeum mortis)		
τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ	(apparuit apostolis)	om.	*κατὰ τὰς γραφάς*
	(posthac)	[*ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ σώματι*]	
	sedet ad dexteram Patris	*ἐνδόξως καθίσαντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τ. Π.*	*κ. καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τ. Π.*
	inde	[*ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ σώματι ἐν δόξῃ*]	*καὶ πάλιν...μετὰ δόξης*
		οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος	*οὗ τ. βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος*
Καὶ *εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα*	Credo in Spiritum Sanctum, etc.		*καὶ εἰς τὸ Π. τὸ Ἁ. κ.τ.λ.*

See p. 57 See pp. 167, 168 See pp. 168, 169

made, and all these additions have Antiochene affinities but for the single clause "who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified", which appears to be a new coinage, and is obviously directed against Macedonianism, a heresy to which the Church of Constantinople was peculiarly exposed.

In short, what we learn from the comparison is that while words are occasionally omitted, some for fairly obvious reasons, and others for no reason that we can see, and while additions are made—particularly the clauses "of the Holy Ghost and Mary the virgin", "crucified under Pontius Pilate", "sitteth at the right hand of the Father", and in some cases "of whose kingdom there shall be no end",—yet, unless by the necessity of taking additional matter, *words are never altered in order*.

This is sufficient to condemn any such thing as the genealogical tree noticed in Chapter I for the Roman declaratory Creed.

Chapter XI

THE EARLY BAPTISMAL CREED OF ROME

I. Elimination and the Maximum Limit. II. Synthesis: (*a*) The Earliest Apostolic Preaching. (*b*) The Threefold Formula. The Order "Jesus Christ". (*c*) The Enlargement of this Formula. The First Two and Last Three Clauses. The Third and Fourth Clauses. (*d*) The Sevenfold Formula of the Gelasian Sacramentary. This Formula not an Abbreviation.

There is no writer who quotes the Roman Creed earlier than the author of the *Explanatio Symboli ad Initiandos*. Accordingly if we desire to get back to the form current, let us say, 150 years earlier, there are two methods we can employ: we can take the fourth-century Creed, and subtract from it, and here we shall be helped by the discovery of "How Creeds Grow", that is we are assured that simple subtraction, either of whole phrases or of parts of phrases that would seem to be of late date, will restore to us something like the earlier form; or we can build up from the earliest elements, checking our reconstruction as far as we are able by references or semi-quotations in Roman writers, whether given under some such heading as "*Regula Fidei*" or not. If we find a particular collocation of words often recurring in an author who belonged to the Church of Rome, then, though he may not be quoting from the Creed, or have it consciously in his mind, he is nevertheless probably giving a Roman turn of speech, and the Creed would take shape under the same influences, and so he may be cited as an indirect witness to it.

I. Elimination and the Maximum Limit

Pursuing our first method and being conservative in our rejections we should arrive at something like the following:

> I believe in God the Father almighty;
> And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord,
> who was born,
> suffered, or was crucified, [probably not both]

rose again (the third day?),
ascended,
sitteth on the right hand of the Father,
is to come to judge the quick and the dead;
And in the Holy Ghost;
Holy Church;
Forgiveness of sins;
Resurrection of the flesh.

This form is probably too full for the date at which we are aiming; but it is difficult to know what more to omit. At any rate this form may be regarded as giving us our maximum limit.

II. Synthesis

(*a*) *The Earliest Apostolic Preaching*

Now let us try the other method.

The earliest Apostolic preaching of which we have record had as its nucleus the Messiahship and Lordship of Jesus, one or both. Thus St Peter's speech at Pentecost as given by St Luke leads up to a climax in "Let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made Him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom ye crucified" (Acts ii. 36). So in his second speech "that He may send the Christ (or Messiah) who hath been appointed for you, Jesus" (Acts iii. 20). So: "Every day in the temple and at home, they ceased not to teach and to preach Jesus as the Christ" (Acts v. 42); "straightway in the synagogue he proclaimed Jesus, that He is the Son of God", "proving that this is the Christ" (Acts ix. 20, 22); "Jesus Christ, He is Lord of all" (Acts x. 36).

Correspondingly, the earliest confession of faith demanded was faith in the Messiahship or Lordship of Jesus, and this would run, "I believe that Jesus is the Christ, or (the) Lord", "I believe in Jesus as the Christ, or (the) Lord", or "I believe in Jesus Christ the Lord". When we find "Lord Jesus", as in St Stephen's speech, or "Christ Jesus", the words "Lord" and "Christ" in the mind of the speaker have ceased to be predicative, and by familiarity become titles. This form agrees with the texts quoted in Chapter II.

(*b*) *The Threefold Formula*

But we are not now trying for a Creed built on a simple formula of one clause, but on a threefold formula, which, as we saw, would appear to have run originally "God, Jesus Christ, Holy Spirit".

The order "Jesus Christ"

Nevertheless it has been supposed that in the Roman Creed the original order was not "Jesus Christ", but "Christ Jesus". Fortunately in Clement we have a writer who was a "Roman of Rome". He invariably writes "Jesus Christ", except in two passages both reminiscent of St Paul: "And we therefore being called through His will in Christ Jesus" (c. 32). And "so therefore let our whole body be saved in Christ Jesus" (c. 38). There is one other passage in which Lightfoot reads "Christ Jesus": "The sceptre of the majesty of God our Lord Christ Jesus" (c. 16), but here he does so on the sole authority of the Alexandrine MS. against the Constantinopolitan and Syriac Versions, a quotation in Jerome, and the more recently discovered Latin Version, a combination which is decisive. The most important of the other twenty quotations are as follows:

Grace to you and peace from almighty God by Jesus Christ be multiplied (Preface).

As God lives and the Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit (c. 58).

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with us and with all those everywhere who are called by God through Him (c. 65).

Next we come to the letter of Dionysius, Bishop of Rome, to his namesake of Alexandria. Dionysius was probably not of Roman stock; his letter is too short—some seventy lines in all—to determine his regular usage; the words occur only once: "It is needful to have believed in God the Father Almighty, and in Christ Jesus His Son and in the Holy Spirit" (*sub fin.*); and he has the non-Roman order "Holy Spirit" instead of the regular Roman order "Spiritus Sanctus". It is obvious that his authority cannot be set against that of Clement.

Finally Novatian. Novatian in the *de Trinitate* has "Christ Jesus" five times and "Jesus Christ" eight times. Of these three would seem to be connected with the Creed.

"Eadem regula veritatis docet nos credere post Patrem etiam in Filium Dei Christum Jesum" (L. p. 6). But this is almost immediately resumed in: "Hunc enim Jesum Christum iterum dicam hujus Dei Filium" (c. 9); "Est ergo credendum secundum praescriptam regulam in Dominum unicum verum Deum, et in Eum quem misit Jesum Christum" (c. 16); "Hoc ergo credamus siquidem fidelissimum, Dei Filium Jesum Christum, Dominum et Deum nostrum" (c. 30). So far the proportion in favour of "Jesus Christus" is about two to one. But the nearest actual quotation from the Creed is at the end of *de Cibis Judaicis* (c. 7): "Regulam veritatis per omnia custodientes, Deo gratias agere debemus per Jesum Christum, Filium Ejus, Dominum nostrum".

Thus the undoubted use of the fourth century is confirmed by a twofold probability, the one drawn from the New Testament and the other from the general practice of Roman authors including, in Novatian, what looks like an actual adaptation from the Creed of his day. And supposing "Christ" to have retained the suggestion of the "Messiah", or "the Anointed", then it would naturally have followed the subject of which it was predicated in accordance with the general Latin usage, as we see, for instance, in "Maria virgo", which, when it was introduced into the Creed, was no mere title (still less the name of an order of "virgins" to whom Mary belonged), but expressed definite belief that Mary conceived "non ex virili semine", as the author of the *Explanatio* puts it.

And lastly the word IXΘΥΣ, meaning Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, Θεοῦ Υἱός, Σωτήρ, is of such frequent occurrence in the catacombs, and had such an intimate connexion with baptism (cf. Tertull. *de Bapt.* c. 1), that we must allow it some weight in discussing a baptismal formula.

Accordingly there is good reason to think that the baptismal questions ran:

Dost thou believe in God?
Dost thou believe in Jesus Christ?
Dost thou believe in the Holy Spirit?

Supposing this to be so, when and why would this short formula be enlarged?

(*c*) *The Enlargement of the Threefold Formula. The First Two and the Last Three Clauses*

The most probable answer to this question would be "as a safeguard against heresy". If we then ask from what heresies the early Church of Rome suffered, the names that suggest themselves are Marcion and his disciple Apelles, Praxeas and Noetus, and Sabellius. All these heresies were of a Gnostic character, and there were three points on which they differed from the Church of Rome, which in common with the Church of Africa "knew one God, the Creator of the universe; and Christ Jesus from the Virgin Mary, the Son of God the Creator; and the resurrection of the flesh" (Tertull. *de Praescr.* 36; L. p. 5). Their special views are described by Tertullian in the neighbouring chapters: "Marcion introduced, in addition to the Creator, another God of goodness only; Apelles made the Creator some glorious angel or other....Valentinus traced the sin of one Aeon to God the Creator". That is, all these heresies denied, in one form or another, the contact of God with matter, in creation, in the incarnation and the reality of our Lord's human body, and in the resurrection of the flesh.

To assert the Creatorship of God one of the words added in the first clause may have been "Father", but this may have been added to the baptismal formula much earlier. It might have come in specifically from the Lord's Prayer; it might have come in from ordinary Christian usage imitating our Lord's regular method of address: "Ye received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father" (Gal. iv. 6); "If ye call on Him as Father" (1 Pet. i. 17); or it might have come in from the blending of the Matthaean formula with that already in use.

But in early Christian writings it was also employed metaphorically of God as the source from whom all things proceeded. Thus Clement: "Father and Creator of the whole world" (c. 19); "Maker and Father of the ages" (c. 35).

We have already seen parallels in Justin Martyr (cp. L. p. 3); and so in Novatian *de Trinitate* "(Ipse) qui virtutum omnium et Deus et Parens est" (c. 2); cp. Irenaeus "Pater universorum",

adv. Haer. IV. xxxiv. And if "Father" was already present in the formula or was thought by itself insufficient, then "almighty" could be added to it.

In the next clause, the addition against Marcion, if it were not already present, would be "His Son", asserting that the historic Jesus Christ is the Son of God the Father, the Creator. So Tertullian: "It has been already ruled with sufficient clearness that Christ must be understood as belonging to (i.e. 'Son of' or 'sent by') no other God than the Creator...whilst proving Christ to be the Creator's, we are effectually shutting out the God of Marcion" (*adv. Marc.* III. I). The last clause will obviously be "the resurrection of the flesh". Marcion and the Gnostics held that the redemption of matter was impossible, so the fleshly character of the resurrection would be emphasized. "Marcion denies the resurrection of the flesh (carnis resurrectionem)" (Tertull. *adv. Marc.* V. 19).

Probably also in controversy with heresy there would be introduced a clause about the Church. Hippolytus says of Carpocrates and his followers: "Carpocrates affirms that the world and the things in it were made by angels far inferior to the unbegotten Father, and that Jesus was generated of Joseph ...(these heretics) have themselves been sent forth by Satan for the purpose of slandering before the Gentiles...the divine name of the Church" (*c. Haer.* VII. 20).

Carpocratian doctrines were brought to Rome by Marcion in the episcopate of Anicetus (155–167), but considering how constantly "the Church" is opposed to heretical societies, such a clause need not be specially anti-Carpocratian. If, as is probable, some epithet were attached to "the Church", that would almost certainly be "holy", and perhaps "the divine name of the Church" implies this.

At some time or other, and probably quite early, the epithet "only" or "only-begotten" was added to the second clause—its presence in nearly all forms of Creed suggests this—but the motive of its addition is not so clear. "Monogenes" is a common Greek word to express a natural relationship, and is so used in the Gospel of St Luke, and in the Epistle to the Hebrews; the use of it to express the relation of our Lord to God the

Father is purely Johannine. In John i. 18 it is doubtful whether the substantive is "God" or "Son", but St John regularly uses "the Son of God" not of the eternal relation of God the Son to the Father within the Blessed Trinity, for which his title is "Logos", but of the incarnate or historic Christ, and whatever be the date when the word was first added, there is no doubt that this is its meaning in the Creed. It is probable that it was from the Johannine school that the word "Monogenes" was taken over by the Gnostics as the name of one of their Aeons, and in several passages Irenaeus vindicates for the Church a pre-emptive right to the word (I. i. 19, 20; I. iv); so it may have been adopted either to oppose the teaching of Gnosticism, or else to emphasize the uniqueness of Christ's human sonship towards the Father as compared with that of Christians.

Similar language might be used of the other addition, "our Lord". The meaning of the phrase was not "the Lord over us", but "whom we recognize as Lord", as opposed to all forms of Gnosticism, and on the lines of Eph. i. 21: "And made Him to sit at His right hand in the heavenly places, far above all rule and authority and power and lordship, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come; and He put all things in subjection under His feet"; Rom. xiv. 9, "Lord of both the dead and the living"; and Phil. ii. 9–11, "Wherefore God highly exalted Him and gave Him the name which is above every name; that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father".

But "our Lord" may well have been in the baptismal Creed of Rome before the coming of Gnosticism, since the confession of the Lordship of Christ in baptism seems to have been very early, and "Lord" is almost a standing epithet in Clement.

So far the Creed would run:

Dost thou believe in God the Father almighty?
Dost thou believe in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord?
Dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost;
Holy Church;
The resurrection of the flesh?

The Third and Fourth Clauses

But we have not yet dealt with the question in what terms the reality of our Lord's human body was to be asserted, in contrast to the spiritual nature of the Godhead. Let us first put the question from the other side and ask what were the epithets used of deity which were inapplicable to manhood and contrasted with it? We know, for instance, that the Creed of Auxentius contained "Invisible, impassible, immortal", and that the two former were added to the Creed of Aquileia against Sabellianism, but language of this kind was far earlier than Sabellius.

Thus Ignatius writes: "There is one physician, fleshly and spiritual, generate and ingenerate, in man God, in death true life, both from Mary and from God, first passible and then impassible, Jesus Christ our Lord" (*Eph.* 7); and, "Await Him who is above every season, the timeless, the invisible, the visible for our sakes, the untouchable, the impassible, the passible for our sakes" (*Ep. to Polyc.* 3). So Tertullian: "Thus the condition (census) of the two substances displayed Him as man and God, in regard to the one born, in regard to the other not born; in the one fleshly, in the other spiritual; in the one weak, in the other exceedingly strong; in the one living, in the other dying" (*de Carne Christi*, 5).

So Irenaeus: "Summing up man in Himself, the invisible became visible, and the incomprehensible became comprehensible, and the impassible passible, and the Word man" (*adv. Haer.* III. xvii. 6).

Now let us glance at the teaching of the early heretics.

The Gnostics in general: "They will have it that the Word and Christ never came into the world; that the Saviour also did not become incarnate nor suffer...while others say that Jesus was born from Joseph and Mary, and that the Christ from above descended upon Him, being without flesh and impassible" (Iren. *adv. Haer.* III. xi. 8).

The Valentinians: "They maintain that in the invisible and ineffable heights above there exists a certain perfect, preexistent Aeon, whom they...describe as being invisible and

incomprehensible. Eternal and unbegotten, he remained throughout innumerable cycles of ages in profound serenity and quiescence" (Iren. *adv. Haer.* I. i. 1).

That against such teaching the Church fought by maintaining the opposite truth is shown over and over again; that antitheses are not foreign to the mind of Rome can be seen from Leo's Tome (H. pp. 208, 209); and that heresy was a real motive for making additions to Creeds is manifest not only from the Creed of Nicaea, but from many others. Hence it is not unlikely that against docetic heresies the Creed of Rome should have been enlarged; but we may be sure that if this was the case, the terms used would not be descriptive of status, but historical. Such words as *passibilis*, *visibilis*, *mortalis* would be felt to be foreign intrusions in a Roman Creed, and would be represented by *passus*, *visus*, *mortuus*. If then we select from the large number of possible words which are as a matter of fact found in Creeds, we shall find ourselves confronted with a list such as this:

Dost thou believe in Jesus Christ, etc.
Who was incarnate,
and was made man,
and was born,
and suffered,
and was crucified,
and died,
and was buried?

Clearly this list is far too long, but any of these expressions is possible; how then are we to make a selection?

Fortunately history seems to have made the selection for us. Tertullian asserts that Praxeas taught at Rome (towards the end of the second century) and that what he taught was this: "Pater natus et Pater passus, ipse Deus Dominus omnipotens, Jesus Christus" (*adv. Prax.* 2).

The words look as though Praxeas had taken over an already well-established formula and twisted it round for his own purposes. Now we know how that formula ran, "Deus Pater omnipotens, et Jesus Christus Dominus"; at least that was part of it; let us then subtract and see if we can obtain the remainder.

The result is "natus" and "passus". Both these words occur on our list, and it would seem that history was really working for us; but it may nevertheless be a mere piece of verbal jugglery.

At the beginning of the next century Hippolytus accused Callistus of having held the opinions of Noetus, and the opinions of the Noetians are as follows:

> For they say this—that one and the same God is the Creator and Father of all things; and that when it pleased Him He appeared to just men of old, though being invisible, but that when He is not seen, He was invisible (for when He is seen He is visible), and incomprehensible when He does not wish to be comprehended, but comprehensible when He is comprehended. So, according to the same account, He is unconquerable and conquerable, ingenerate (and generate), immortal and mortal....For in this manner he thinks to establish the unity (of God), alleging that Father and Son (so) called, are one and the same....That this person suffered by being nailed to the tree, and that He commended His spirit unto Himself, and died and did not die, and raised Himself the third day, and was buried in the tomb, and pierced by the spear, and nailed down with nails. ...Callistus attempted to confirm this heresy....He put forward Zephyrinus himself, and induced him publicly to assert (Ἐγὼ οἶδα ἕνα Θεόν, Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ πλὴν Αὐτοῦ ἕτερον οὐδένα γεννητὸν καὶ παθητόν) "I know one God, Christ Jesus, and beside Him no other generate and passible" (Hipp. *c. Haer.* IX. 10, 11).

Here we have another list of antithetical epithets:

invisible	incomprehensible	unconquerable	ingenerate	immortal
visible	comprehensible	conquerable	generate	mortal;

or, translating them into the only terms possible in the Roman Creed:

seen	comprehended	conquered	born	died

and in the latter half of the paragraph, "suffered, dead, risen, buried, pierced, nailed".

We might have even more difficulty in selecting from this list, but again history seems to come to the rescue and selects just two terms "generate" and "passible", or in the language of the Roman Creed "natus" and "passus".

Once more, in the fourth century Pope Damasus put up over

the tomb of Felix and Philippus, the sons of Felicitas, an inscription containing the following lines:

> Qui natum passumque Deum repetisse paternas
> Sedes, atque iterum venturum in aethere, credit
> Judicet ut vivos rediens pariterque sepultos.

It is really impossible to believe that the identical phrase "natus et passus" should appear in successive centuries in Rome, each time in reference to belief, by mere accident, or unless it was embodied in a well-established formula, and, it will be observed, a formula which is exactly such as the prevalence of heresies known to have existed in Rome in the second century would be likely to cause to be framed, and which exactly agrees with the Roman baptismal Creed of the later date.

But besides these external quarrels there was an internal dispute which began as early as the time of Hermas and reached its culmination in the days of Callistus:

> In some quarters, for a while, it was held that for certain grave sins the Church ought not to give absolution. The history of the question is obscure; but it was already being discussed in the middle of the 2nd century, when the *Shepherd* of Hermas was a manifesto in favour of "one repentance" for all sins....And when the Roman bishop Callistus (218–223)...notified that it was his practice to absolve sins of the flesh after penance, he was doubly attacked. Tertullian, who, fifteen years before, as a Catholic, in the *de paenitentia* had treated all sins as remissible after penance, now, as a Montanist, assailed Callistus with characteristic bitterness....Later Hippolytus, now an anti-pope and the bishop of a schism, assailed the memory of Callistus on this among other grounds, holding with Tertullian that Idolatry, Homicide, and Unchastity are irremissible. But whereas Tertullian had represented that Callistus refused to absolve Idolatry and Homicide, and therefore charged him with inconsistency in absolving Unchastity, the complaint of Hippolytus is that Callistus was "the first to devise a concession to men's passions by declaring that he absolved all sins".[1]

Harnack's theory is that the primitive Church was conceived as "a communion of saints", and that down to the end of the third century final exclusion from the Church was the penalty of lapse into sins. This primitive conception was replaced during the third century by the idea that the Church is a *corpus per-*

1 Brightman in Swete's *Essays*, pp. 374, 375.

mixtum, a training school for salvation. According to this view the relaxation granted by Callistus represents an innovation, and marks the first stage in the transformation of the conception of the Church. Less familiar is the contention of Funk that the ministry of reconciliation, though inherent in the Church, and recognized by it, came into activity at a comparatively late period. From this point of view the action of Callistus was a piece of "ecclesiastical opportunism", and due to the situation of the Church at the time.

But however this may be, the relaxation marks a critical turning point, and it would be at least a plausible conjecture that the phrase "Forgiveness of sins" was incorporated into the Creed of Rome in the time of Callistus, or at any rate earlier than the time of Novatian, for "by the middle of the 3rd century the rigourist attitude towards the remission of sins had disappeared in Africa and Italy—even Novatian did not adopt it".[1] And if *sancta* was not already an epithet of the Church, it might be highly expedient to add that though it reconciled sinners to its communion, the Church never lost its sanctity. It is perhaps some confirmation of this view that the phrase "Forgiveness of sins" is absent from the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus.

(*d*) *The Sevenfold Formula*

Accordingly before the middle of the third century we have good reason to think that the baptismal interrogations would run:

Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem?
Credis in Jesum Christum, Filium Ejus unicum,
Dominum nostrum,
natum et passum?
Credis in Spiritum Sanctum;
Sanctam ecclesiam;
Remissionem peccatorum;
Carnis resurrectionem?

This is, I think, a fair conclusion from the evidence. The form is exactly such a Creed as might well have been developed

1 Brightman, *loc. cit.* p. 375.

from the threefold formula under the pressure of circumstances which we know to have been those of the Church of Rome in the second and third centuries, and it is such as to give a basis from which the fourth-century Creed might be developed in accordance with "the law of growth", and it is a genuine Roman form, for it is that of the Gelasian Sacramentary.

It is probable that when Creeds were quite short the interrogatory and declaratory forms were—but for the triple "Credis" and the single "Credo"—identical. There is little direct evidence except that they began in the same way in the fourth century in the Balkans, as is shown by Mai's Arian Fragments, and were probably alike throughout in Egypt, as is shown by the different versions of the shorter form of the Egyptian Church Order. When the western declaratory Creed grew to the length it acquired in the fourth century, all the evidence there is goes to show that the interrogatory form was the shorter of the two.

This Formula not an Abbreviation

But it has been argued that the Gelasian form, instead of being early, is an abbreviation from the declaratory Creed made at a later date. Such a view appears to be absolutely untenable on two independent grounds. The local Creed, as distinct from conciliar Creeds, which might be called into requisition whenever need arose, was employed solely in connexion with baptism, and the great season for adult baptism in Rome was immediately before Easter.

At this time the declaratory Creed, from which the Gelasian is supposed to be an abbreviation, contained "*tertia die resurrexit a mortuis*". Is it conceivable that anyone should, in making an abbreviation, omit *this* article, when the whole baptismal ceremonial spoke of death and resurrection, and when the time of Easter was selected as specially suitable for baptism, just because it emphasized this special doctrine?

The second reason seems equally conclusive. It is this. The declaratory Creed ran "*Qui natus est—passus*", etc. Would not this form be retained in any abbreviated form to be made by merely omitting certain articles? But we may go further. If

it is evidence that the Creed of Niceta came to Remesiana from the East, because Western Creeds had uniformly *qui* with the indicative, and Niceta's Creed has past participles, is it not equally clear that the Gelasian Creed arose at a time when the Roman Church was speaking Greek, and that *natum et passum* represent a Greek original γεννηθέντα καὶ παθόντα?

But if we may go thus far, it would seem to follow that the *qui* with the indicative of the later declaratory form was adopted at Rome under some form of collaboration or pressure from the provincial churches where it was already established.

There is, of course, no difficulty about the survival of an early form through many centuries; the Creed of the Dêr Balyzeh Papyrus is found in a rite at least three centuries later; the Creed of Constantinople is used in the East unchanged today; our own baptismal Creed is found in full in the eighth century; and, more significant still, though the Roman declaratory Creed has had *qui* with the indicative from the fourth century at the latest, yet the baptismal interrogations of today still retain the participles "natum" and "passum", a proof, if any were needed, of the traditional sanctity of the formula, and the innate conservatism of the Roman Church.

Chapter XII

THE ENLARGEMENT OF THE ROMAN CREED

I. The Creeds of Spain, Gaul, and Northern Italy; their resemblance to (*a*) each other, (*b*) Eastern Creeds, (*c*) Creed of Rome. II. The Conservatism of Rome. III. A Probable Motive and Date for the Enlargement. IV. The title *Symbolum Apostolorum*.

I. The Creeds of Spain, Gaul, and Northern Italy

Their Resemblance to (a) each other, (b) Eastern Creeds, (c) the Creed of Rome

The problem for solution is this: supposing the set of baptismal questions put to the candidate in Rome *c.* 220, which taken together may be called the Interrogatory Creed, was identical with that preserved in the Gelasian Sacramentary, how did the corresponding Declaratory Creed, or positive affirmation of his faith by the candidate, come to have the form it possessed in the last quarter of the fourth century as testified by the sermons of Augustine, the *Explanatio Symboli ad Initiandos*, and the phrases derived from Leo's Tome and Sermons of *c.* 450?

At first sight there seem to be no available data; but this problem is closely connected with a second, namely, How is it that in the fourth century the Creeds of Spain, Gaul, and Northern Italy so closely resembled (*a*) each other, (*b*) Eastern baptismal Creeds of a somewhat earlier date, and (*c*) this later form of the Creed of Rome?

This second problem is not so difficult of solution, and though the answer to it may not be demonstrably certain, it is at any rate so highly probable as to be almost indisputable.

Within this period, the third and fourth centuries, it is generally acknowledged (*a*) that "provincial rites", that is the rites current in Spain, Gaul, and Northern Italy—we might add Africa—differed in structure and in detail from the contemporary Roman rite; (*b*) that in spite of minor variations

these provincial rites so closely resembled each other that they can be classed together as a single rite; and (*c*) that they contained many oriental features and might justly be regarded as a scion of the Eastern family transplanted to a Western soil.

In the Rhone valley Christianity established itself not later than the middle of the second century. The Epistle from Vienne and Lyons in 177 was sent to the Churches of Asia and Phrygia. But there must have been Christian settlements on the coast, where there were many old Greek colonies, before the foundation of the inland see of Lyons. Here then we have an Anatolian Christianity in Southern and Central Gaul. If, as Lightfoot thinks not improbable,[1] Benignus, who became Bishop of Dijon, was sent to Gaul by Polycarp of Smyrna, the tie with Asia Minor would be strengthened. Irenaeus, the successor of Pothinus, presided over all these Gallican churches. But not only was Lyons the leading see, it was also the headquarters of active and extended missionary work, and in consequence the Churches of Gaul would look towards Lyons as their "mother-city", in both senses of the word.

Even if the story given by Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* I. 28) that seven bishops were sent from Rome *c.* 250 had some foundation, nevertheless their mission could have had no effect in this regard; for they would have found a rite and a Creed already in possession. And this rite was not, in fact, superseded by the Roman till many centuries later, nor is there the least evidence that these bishops would have even wished to change it; the idea of the advantages of liturgical agreement in the provinces with the use of Rome does not seem to have arisen, even in the mind of the Roman pontiff, till a much later date. Thus the Gallican rite and Creed go back to Lyons, and through Lyons to Asia Minor. We may not be able to reconstruct the exact form of the Creed used by Irenaeus, but possible mistakes are confined within definite limits; it cannot have been much more elaborate than other Eastern Creeds of about the same date, and it must be held to be the parent of the fourth-century Gallican Creeds. As regards these, our problem is a simple

1 *Ap. F.* Pt. II, vol. I, p. 447.

one; it is to discover their approximate form not later than 370, that is before the importation of the Roman Creed to Milan. By comparing our Apostles' Creed with the Roman Creed of *c.* 380, we see what were the later additions; we can trace all, or nearly all, of these to the East along the road through the Balkans; we have learnt that by a process of simple subtraction of later features we can obtain the earlier form of a creed within small limits of error. If, then, we take from the later Gallican Creeds *Creatorem caeli et terrae, conceptus, mortuus, descendit ad inferos, Dei...omnipotentis, catholicam, sanctorum communionem, vitam aeternam*, we shall arrive at their general type, as they existed in earlier times. But if we subtract such of these phrases as occur in the Creeds of Faustus of Riez, Cyprian of Toulon, and of the Gallican Sacramentary, we find an all but complete verbal agreement in the result, and we can date this back to 370 at latest. Here then we have what we may call the Gallican Creed of that date.

And that this dating is justified is shown by comparing Gallican with Spanish Creeds. Christianity existed in Spain in the time of Irenaeus. The earliest known Christian settlements were at Leon and Astorga—possibly a single community—Merida, and Saragossa (Cyprian, *Ep.* lxvii). The position of these on the banks of rivers is akin to that of Lyons, and implies earlier settlements on the coast. In both cases, therefore, we are dealing with a water-borne Christianity, and independent of Rome. Whether it came to Spain from Asia Minor or from Africa may be left open; African Christianity in all probability came from Asia Minor. The similarity of the Spanish to the Gallican rite is evidence of similarity of origin.

The marked resemblance of Gallican and Spanish Creeds in general structure and—apart from certain local peculiarities—even in details of language, both groups being independent of Rome, and in some measure independent of each other, both also with great probability, and as regards Gallican Creeds certainly, derived from Eastern sources, confirms our right to ante-date them before the last quarter of the fourth century.

When we turn to the Creeds of Northern Italy, we find two

exceptions. The growth of the Creed of Milan was twice interrupted: by the introduction of the Cappadocian Creed—with additions of an Arian cast—by Auxentius, and by the importation of the Roman Creed by Ambrose. The Creed of Aquileia, again, presents peculiar features. The phrase *invisibilis et impassibilis* is due to opposition to Sabellianism, which may have found its way thither from Egypt; *Descendit ad inferna* probably travelled by land from the Balkans; the strange order *Unicus Filius Ejus* is probably another Easternism; the use of cases seems to be a mere local peculiarity; as is also *hujus* with *carnis*. But the Creed has an evidential importance. Ambrose—whether the *Explanatio* is his or not—revered the Creed of Rome and strongly deprecated variations from it. If therefore he was unable to prevent such additions as these phrases in the Creed of Aquileia, and *vitam aeternam* at Ravenna, it is clear that some other causes besides the influence of Ambrose must be sought for the general similarity of provincial Creeds to the Creed of Rome both in the neighbouring provinces of Ravenna and Aquileia and farther afield.

The churches of Northern Italy were of more recent foundation than those of Gaul and Spain, and in them again we seem to meet the same phenomenon which we have already noticed, a water-borne Christianity starting from the coast and penetrating inland up the rivers, and the gloss of Rufinus on the sixth Canon of the Council of Nicaea proves that Rome had exercised no jurisdiction in this region before the end of the fourth century.

It remains to show that these provincial Creeds are marked by their similarity to Eastern, and particularly to Anatolian, Creeds of the same or a rather earlier date.

A rough test would be to take the Creeds of Gregory of Elvira, Augustine's Sermon 214, Aquileia, Niceta of Remesiana, and Zahn's reconstruction of the Creed of the Didascalia, translate them into a common language, and try to tell by merely looking at them which were Eastern and which were Western.

This test is crude but by no means valueless. It shows that difference of language is a superficial or accidental quality,

which tells us nothing of form and structure: it is of even less service in discriminating Creeds than the rites of which they form a part. The Creed of Niceta is in Latin, though it is Eastern; the early Creed of Rome was certainly in Greek. Nor can we trust other obvious differences. Most Eastern Creeds have "one" in the first, some also in the second clause. But this is not universal in Eastern Creeds of the fourth century; it does not occur in the early Eastern Creeds of the *Epistola Apostolorum* or the Dêr Balyzeh Papyrus; and it does occur in Creeds as far to the West as Spain.

Most Eastern Creeds, again, have "eternal life" in the last clause, but here also there are exceptions; the phrase does not occur in Eastern Creeds of the second century; and it does occur in Cyprian's Creed in Africa, and in that of Peter Chrysologus at Ravenna in Italy.

These phrases, therefore, may be omitted from our review as furnishing no decisive test.

A second method would be to arrive at a type-form by pruning individual peculiarities. Suppose we average out a type-form of Eastern baptismal Creed by amalgamating the Creeds of Marcellus of Ancyra and Niceta of Remesiana, filling up the one and pruning the other, and blend this with the Creed phrases from Mai's Arian Fragments and such portions of the Creed of Jerome as are neither his own personal additions nor derived from the Creed of Nicaea, the result is a Creed almost indistinguishable from the Creed of Milan.

Or take another group; throw out Nicene phrases from the Creeds of Antioch, Cappadocia, and Philadelphia and control the exuberances of these by Zahn's reconstruction of the Creed of the Didascalia; when we have pruned off the new shoots which obscure the shape of the tree, the recreated structure belongs to the same class as the Western provincial Creeds.

The baptismal Creed grew faster in the East, so that it attained a particular stage of development earlier; it grew more luxuriantly, so that Eastern Creeds differ among themselves more than do the Creeds of the Western provinces; it inclined towards certain peculiarities, some which were never adopted

in the West, and others only at a later date; but geographical distribution does not determine structure; we are dealing with one form, with variations which are local, occasional, accidental, and superficial; no other conclusion seems possible.

This, then, is the situation with which we are faced. We find running throughout the Western provinces a single type of Creed from *c.* 380 onwards. It contains, in some examples, certain phrases which existed earlier in the East, and we can trace the road by which they travelled. We have reason to think that these particular phrases, *Creatorem caeli et terrae*, etc., cannot have been incorporated in the West before 370. The effect of omitting them, where they occur, is only to enhance the similarity of the remainder. As this form of Creed runs from Spain to the Adriatic it must have existed in all its main features before 374. But this is the earliest possible date for the importation of the Roman Creed to Milan by Ambrose. The form of the provincial Creed, therefore, cannot be due to his action. Nor is it due to earlier prescription by the authority of Rome, for Rome exercised no jurisdiction in this region such as would enable it to impose its Creed; nor can we date the desire of ritual uniformity in the mind of the Roman bishop before the pontificate of Damasus, even if so early.

This developed form cannot be much earlier in the West than the Council of Nicaea, as it contains the phrases "of the Holy Ghost and Mary the virgin" and "under Pontius Pilate", and to judge by analogy we should say it could not have come into being before the middle of the third century. But in the early portion of the third century the Roman Creed had the participles "*natum*, *passum*", whereas in Gaul and Northern Italy we find *qui* with the indicative. The participial form at Remesiana and (unless it is here due to the authors of the sermons) in Spain we judge to be due to independent translations from the Greek. Are we not forced to conclude that the provincial Creeds have not been assimilated to the Roman form, but *vice versa*, that the Creed of Rome has been enlarged, and changed the participial construction to *qui* with the indicative, owing to some kind of contact with the provincial Creeds, and with the Creeds

of Gaul and Italy rather than with those of Spain? And in consequence is not the question before us really found to be, "When and in what circumstances did such contact occur, and what motive could have urged the Church of Rome towards such a change?"

II. The Conservatism of Rome

If we read the history of the Eastern Church between the middle of the second and the end of the fourth century, we are struck with its amazing fertility and development. There are notable schools of theology at Alexandria and Antioch, besides others of less repute scattered over Asia Minor; there is a marked growth of organization, and councils and synods are held at frequent intervals and in many localities; there are Christian writers of all sorts, doctrinal, expository, apologetic, devotional, and historical. Everywhere we seem to be breathing the air of adventure and exploration; we are conscious of the rapid and widespread growth of new ideas and new expressions in matters of faith and experience. The same phenomenon is exhibited in pictorial form in the map. By the time of the Council of Nicaea Christianity has permeated heathen society throughout Asia Minor. It has thrust itself on the north-west nearly to the borders of Italy, and farther south has established itself in strength on the Illyrian coast. It has crossed the Adriatic, and taken firm root along the east coast of Italy and round the Gulf of Tarentum.

Much the same state of things, though less developed, shows itself in the Western provinces. On the secular side there is the spread of Roman civilization and the Latin language. There is a vast educational movement, and this tends to sharpen the intellect and accustom the mind to new ideas. A further stimulus is supplied by the increase of trade, which was for the most part in other than Italian hands. By the time of the Council of Nicaea non-Roman Christianity has taken possession of the northern fringe of the Mediterranean, and pushing inland has penetrated to Britain. Southern Gaul is largely, though not

predominately, Christian, and the new religion has been established in Southern Spain, and is preached and practised over the greater part of the Iberian peninsula. In Northern Italy we find a wedge of Eastern Christianity on a Western soil.

And now turn to Rome. Even if we grant to Roman missionary zeal all Italy except the extreme East and South, and add to it Sicily, and a small portion of Sardinia, how meagre is the total as compared with either the East, or the Western provinces over which Rome had the start of 100 years! And if we look to other fields, we find similar results. Teachers of all kinds, orthodox and heretical, flock to Rome, but there is no native school of theology. From the days of Clement to those of Paulinus of Nola there is no great theological writer who is not either of foreign parentage or born or nurtured on foreign soil. Examine any Christian Latin author within this period, and you will find that he has drunk from Eastern sources; nowhere south and west of the Apennines do you meet with anything more than the codification and arrangements of other men's thoughts. From the Eastern point of view the West, where the East has not fructified it, appears unoriginative and sterile.

Nevertheless Rome was all the while performing a useful function. Heresies beat upon it, but for the most part they failed to move it. Seeds were carried thither from exotic climes, but they took but shallow root, and soon the plants withered away.

The position of theological correctness, which the Roman Church managed to hold, must be accounted for. It was the result of various causes. One was the essential conservatism of the Roman Church. The conservatism of the West...was a wise conservatism which recognized the strength of the Church's tradition, and the weight of the teaching of the past....A second cause was her want of originality. The Church of Rome produced no heretic and no theologian. Destitute of imagination, destitute of creative power, she was never carried away by doctrinal innovations. She received slowly, weighed carefully, and judged solemnly.[1]

From the point of view of the East, therefore, Rome was stolid and slow moving like a glacier; from the point of view of

1 *Church Quarterly Review*, XXVI (July 1888), p. 464; cp. G. F. Browne, *Theodore and Wilfrith*, p. 83.

Rome the East was fickle as the wind, and these two forces have done much to shape and fashion the world.

Another characteristic of Rome was its attachment to forms. The cataclysmic upheavals of its youth were all but forgotten; the greatest of political revolutions, the change from republican, or at least aristocratic, government to empire was accomplished under a combination of constitutional precedents.

Perhaps the most striking example of the perpetuation of ancient customs is given by the christianizing by Pope Nicholas in the ninth century of the ancient Roman marriage rite of the "confarreatio".[1] Nicholas was not a pedantic antiquarian; he did not deliberately search among old manuscripts for traces of an obsolete pagan ceremony; even if it had fallen into complete practical desuetude it still survived, handed down by a living tradition.

And this conservation of formulas showed itself especially in the realm of law. The Law of the Twelve Tables was constantly re-embodied in later codes. The Praetorian Edict tended to become "perpetual" until it was made obligatory. The miswording of a contractual stipulation might render it legally invalid. And in religious rites formulas would be handed down and repeated even if they had become all but unintelligible. That Rome was still the stronghold of paganism is shown by the possibility of revival under Julian, but the official heathen religion was now almost entirely a matter of forms and ceremonies which were once significant and alive. So court ceremonial was stiffened and rigidified under Diocletian, and after the Diocletian persecution the bishop of Rome became a great social personage, while imperial officers were chosen, as we saw in the case of Ambrose, from those learned in the law.

From every side, therefore, we seem assured that a religious formula once adopted by the Roman Church would tend to remain unaltered, a tendency strikingly exemplified by the maintenance of the Interrogatory Creed till we find it in the Gelasian Sacramentary. The Declaratory Creed would naturally not be surrounded by the same halo of sanctity as invested the

1 See Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, pp. 433, 434.

formula used in the act of ministration of baptism, but nevertheless there would be a strong feeling against any alteration, and it would need a powerful motive and a peculiar combination of circumstances to effect the change. It was a formula which was wrought out phrase by phrase in conflict with heresies, and as such entitled to honour, and about it we may well believe there was the same feeling which moved Athanasius to insist on the danger of touching the formula of Nicaea. Nevertheless the Nicene Creed had to be enlarged at Constantinople to safeguard the faith against novel teachings.

III. A Probable Motive and Date for the Enlargement

Supposing, then, we think that there is any force in this analogy, we shall ask what were the later heresies with which Rome found itself in conflict? Arianism, but for the lapse of Liberius owing to political pressure, found no resting place in Rome. Though Marcellus came to Rome, he came as a suppliant, and even if he were more heretical than he has been represented, yet he could not have preached his heresy there, or he would not have been acquitted. Macedonianism must have been recognized as a danger, or Damasus would not have added to the Nicene Creed *neque facturam*, *neque creaturam*, *sed de substantia Deitatis*, but Macedonianism, like Arianism of which it was an offshoot, seems not to have domiciled itself in Rome, and clearly it has not affected the Roman Declaratory Creed, nor did the additions to the Nicene made by Damasus prove permanent. But with Apollinarianism it is otherwise. Its danger was certainly recognized by Rome, since in the same Council (probably 382) in which Damasus enlarged the Nicene text, he condemned Apollinarianism by anathemas, clearly based on those passed in the Alexandrian Council of 362 under Athanasius. Moreover, the particular phrase "of the Holy Ghost and the virgin Mary" was added to the Nicene Creed at the Council of Constantinople in 381 (see below, p. 154) against this heresy. Nor would the Creed of Rome probably

have been revised until the fear of persecution was allayed by the Edict of Toleration in 313.

Nor again would the need for a fuller Creed be felt until the advent of a pope with a widely extended view, to whom the short Creed of the early third century had come to look antiquated by contrast with other baptismal Creeds, such as that of Marcellus, to which circumstances had directed his attention. The sense of the isolation of Rome in the matter of religious usages was slow to make itself felt. The first definite evidence we have is in the decretal of Siricius in 365, "Catholicorum episcoporum unam confessionem esse debere apostolica disciplina composuit. Si ergo una fides est, manere debet et una traditio, si una traditio est una debet disciplina per omnes ecclesias custodiri". The decretal is addressed to Himerius, Bishop of Tarragona in Spain, and it is in the course of this same instrument that we find the strong assertion of the Petrine claims already noticed, a circumstance which shows that by the "apostolica disciplina" is meant that of the Church of Rome.

But perhaps better known is the letter of Innocent I to Decentius, Bishop of Eugubium in 416:

> If the bishops of God wish to possess the ecclesiastical traditions as they have been handed down from the blessed Apostles, let there be no variation in ordinations and consecrations. But as long as everyone thinks he must maintain not what has been handed down, but what seems good to himself, different uses are sure to be kept and employed in different places or churches, and there is made a scandal. ...For who is there who does not know or perceive that all ought to observe what has been handed down to the Roman Church by Peter the Prince of the Apostles, and kept up to this day, and nothing which has not authority or which seems to take a model elsewhere ought to be added or introduced. Especially as it is evident that in all Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, Sicily, and the adjacent islands no one has founded churches except those whom the venerable Apostle Peter or his successors have constituted bishops.

On this letter several remarks may be made. What the Pope is tilting at is clearly the non-Roman elements in the usage of Eugubium, not more than one hundred miles distant and within his own metropolitan jurisdiction. Beyond that he looks to the *fons et origo mali*, the Western provincial rite. His "history"

is no more to be trusted in the case of Africa than in that of Gaul or Spain, and he shows clearly that the Roman rite, and in consequence the Roman Creed, had not been introduced by Papal authority in the countries he mentions. This desire for uniformity might perhaps be dated back to the pontificate of Damasus, but certainly not earlier. There would seem, then, good reason for thinking that the enlargement of the Roman Declaratory Creed would take place about the latter half of the fourth century, and probably during the pontificate of Damasus.

And Damasus seems particularly appropriate. The alteration would be likely to meet with some opposition, but Damasus had the "temerity", as Athanasius called it, to add to the Nicene Creed; the Council of Sardica, in 343, had given certain extended rights to the Bishop of Rome, and the earlier decree of Valentinian I is to be dated probably between 367 and 372; but Damasus, though in practice he availed himself of the power thus conferred, based his claim in the Council of 382 on the words of Christ to St Peter. But if we accept provisionally the pontificate of Damasus as giving the most likely period for revision, we must clearly put it in the earlier portion of his reign. And here we are met with what may be more than a coincidence.

In December 371 Damasus held a council by command of the Emperor Valentinian, and its decrees were signed by Damasus himself and by ninety bishops of Italy and Gaul. With Damasus was associated Valerian, Metropolitan of Aquileia. The letter is addressed to the bishops of Illyria, and states that a report had been received from the brethren in Gaul and Venetia (certain MSS. read the "Bessi", but this reading seems improbable). It deals with Arianism and Macedonianism, condemns Auxentius of Milan, who nevertheless continued to retain his see; and it repudiates the Council of Ariminum. This Council was also attended by Dorotheus, a deacon of Antioch, whom Basil had sent with a letter to Rome by way of Alexandria, whence he brought also a letter from Athanasius. Liberius had been out of communion with Athanasius in 362, and though the latter had doubtless sent him a copy of the decrees of the Alexandrian

Synod when communion had been restored, yet no action against the Apollinarians seems to have been taken at Rome before 382. It is possible, therefore, that Dorotheus called the attention of Damasus to the decree sent to his predecessor. It would seem likely that this gathering of Italian and Gallic bishops may have suggested to Damasus the expediency of revising his Creed; at any rate we seem to have here both the earliest and the most favourable opportunity for such action.

IV. The Title *Symbolum Apostolorum*

This theory of the late composition of the enlarged Roman Creed is open to one objection, which at first sight appears formidable. If the Creed in its Gelasian form was known as the *Symbolum Apostolorum*, and if there was a tradition at Rome that the Apostles had composed it, how could the title and the story of their composition have been transferred to the new form? The objection, however, rests on a total misconception. There is no evidence that the early form was ever known by this title, nor that the story of Apostolic composition was in origin Roman.

All baptismal Creeds were regarded throughout Christendom as embodying the faith taught by the Apostles. In early times the appeal against the innovations of heretics was twofold, to Scripture, and to the Apostolic tradition. The Baptismal Creed was a witness to the tradition. Certainly, as long as the Creeds were as short as we have found them to be in the second century, the dogmatic teaching of the Apostles could be only partially contained in them, and certainly also the apostolic tradition embraced more than their teaching about the faith (cp. Tertullian, *supra*, p. 37); but equally truly no clauses could rightly be added to the Creed if they were conceived as falling outside what the Apostles were believed to have taught. In this respect, therefore, both the longer and the shorter Roman forms, in common with all the baptismal Creeds in use, would be considered Apostolic and might have an equal right to be called *Symbolum Apostolorum*. Thus Jerome says: "In symbolo fidei et spei nostrae, quod ab Apostolis traditum...scribitur...in

tabulis cordis carnalibus, post confessionem Trinitatis et unitatem ecclesiae, omne Christiani dogmatis sacramentum carnis resurrectione concluditur" (*c. Joh. Hier.* 28), language which obviously has no special reference to the Creed of Rome; and Cassian: "Symbolus...ex collatione nomen accepit...Collatio autem ideo, quia collata in unum ab Apostolis Domini totius legis fides..." (*c. Nest.* vi. 3), but he is speaking specially of the Creed of Antioch as well as in general of all baptismal Creeds: "Symbolus...cujus superius textum diximus, licet omnium ecclesiarum sit, quia una omnium fides, peculiariter tamen Antiochenae urbis atque ecclesiae est" (c. 6). Cassian's language is very similar to that of Rufinus, but it is most improbable that it was derived from him; far more likely that Rufinus is giving a common Eastern view. The legend that the Apostles met together and drew up a particular form of words cannot be traced earlier than the fourth century. It seems to rest on: (1) a guess that such conduct was probable; (2) the conviction that the Creeds contained at least a portion of the dogmatic teaching of the Apostles, and (3) the etymology of the word *symbolum* or its Latin equivalent *collatio*. We have found traces of this story in the *Didascalia Apostolorum* and other pseudonymous Eastern literature.

The first person to use the specific title *Symbolum Apostolorum* is Ambrose. It occurs in his letter to Pope Siricius in 390 (*Ep.* liii. 5): "Credatur symbolo Apostolorum quod ecclesia Romana intemeratum semper custodit et servat". This might appear to be decisive, but what Ambrose is really saying is that at Rome no additions had been made to the *Symbolum Apostolorum* as at Aquileia.

The use of the title is based on the legend, and we should gather that the legend was already current at Aquileia even though the treatise of Rufinus is somewhat later, and though Rufinus may have had the writings of Ambrose before him. Rufinus certainly claims that but for certain incrustations, the Creed of Aquileia was no less Apostolic than other baptismal Creeds. Ambrose would naturally have a preference for the Roman form both as being Roman and as presenting a purer

text. But we may go further than this. After an episcopate of fifteen years Ambrose would not only have been acquainted with the Creeds of Aquileia and Ravenna, and probably with those of Gaul also, but his influence stretched towards the East as well as to the West. He would have found the same type of Creed in the Danubian provinces and specifically at Remesiana, and, though in a more expanded form, in Asia Minor also; the fact that Anatolian Creeds had incorporated phrases from the Nicene would not diminish their title to be called Apostolic, since it was the reiterated claim at Nicaea that the Creed then constructed contained the doctrines taught by the Apostles. Thus the similarity of fourth-century Creeds in the West, and, after the pruning away of certain phrases, in the East also, would have seemed to furnish an additional basis for the legend. Why were they so much alike? Manifestly because they were all versions, of greater or lesser purity of text, of the form framed by the Apostles.

And once this story had been accepted, the added detail in the *Explanatio*, that this formula had been brought to Rome by St Peter, is an obvious inference. The Apostles had composed a formula at Jerusalem before dispersing; St Peter had come to Rome; *ergo* St Peter *must* have brought the formula. Such a story would naturally win every acceptance in Rome at any date from the episcopate of Damasus onwards, and at this period the Church of Rome was destitute of the critical historical sense. Damasus knows nothing whatever of Hippolytus, the greatest theologian who had resided there, or in the immediate neighbourhood, 150 years before; two Popes, Zosimus and Leo, confuse the canons of Sardica with those of Nicaea, and the legates of the latter misquote the sixth canon of Nicaea at the Council of Chalcedon; Pope Innocent asserts that all the Churches in Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa and Sicily had been founded by bishops consecrated by St Peter or his successors. It is clear, therefore, that no bias in favour of historic facts would have prevented the acceptance at Rome of a story which tended to the magnification of the Roman see.

Chapter XIII

THE TEXTUS RECEPTUS, T

I. Recapitulation. II. The Formation of T. (*a*) Transportation of Words and Phrases. (*b*) Documents and Persons. (*c*) Conclusions. Appendices: A. The Psalter of Aethelstan and the Codex Laudianus. B. The Longer Creed of the Egyptian Church Order.

The two questions to be answered about the Textus Receptus, T, are how it came to be made and when it was adopted as the official form at Rome. To the second question we can put a *terminus ad quem*. It must have been the baptismal profession at Rome before 900; for it is found in the seventh *Ordo Romanus*, in which T is used at the Baptism of an infant. There is a reference here to the custom of reciting the Nicene Creed over the catechumen at the *redditio symboli* on the Thursday in Holy Week; and this Ordo is to be found in a collection of documents in *Codex Sessorianus* 52 in the Victor Emmanuel Library at Rome. The MS. is of the eleventh or twelfth century but the collection was formed in the ninth century at the Abbey of Nonantula in the south of Italy. The earlier question cannot be settled so easily and will best be approached by recalling some of the conclusions at which we have already arrived.

I. Recapitulation

If we refer back to Chapter X, it is clear that the modern form of interrogatory Creed is an enlargement of that contained in the Gregorian Sacramentary, as that in its turn is an enlargement of the form in the Gelasian, G. Moreover R, the Roman declaratory Creed of the end of the fourth century, which was also the Creed of Milan, is either a development of G, or G is an abbreviation of it. This second hypothesis we found reason to reject. As baptism took place at Rome just before Easter, and as this season was selected because of its appropriateness to baptism as signifying a death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness, any abbreviation of R could not omit the article

dealing with the Resurrection. Nor would the construction *qui* with the indicative have changed into the participles *natum et passum*. It is clear, therefore, that G is the earlier form, and its simplicity shows that it could not be later than the third century, while the participles *natum et passum* suggest that it was composed when the Roman Church still spoke Greek. The survival of G in so late a document as the Gelasian Sacramentary is due to the conservatism of Rome, and has a parallel in the Creed of the Dêr Balyzeh Papyrus. R, therefore, is a development of the declaratory Creed which can be obtained from G simply by substituting a single *Credo* at the beginning for the thrice-repeated *Credis*.

But R is very like the Creed of Niceta of Remesiana, and Niceta's Creed is certainly Eastern and probably represents an earlier type of Eastern Creed—with certain local additions—which in other larger centres of population had developed more fully. To support this conclusion we quoted parallels from Arian fragments belonging to the district of the Danube; Jerome's Creed containing portions of the Creed of Stridon, his native place, to the west; and the Creed of Ancyra to the east. Niceta appears to have been born about 338 or earlier, so we cannot date his sermon on the Creed much before 370, but the Creed itself may belong to the end of the third century. We noticed also a close resemblance of the common matter in the Creeds of Northern Italy and Gaul to R, and therefore to Niceta's Creed. These Creeds appear in origin to have been independent of Rome, since Rome does not seem to have exercised any effective jurisdiction over this region at the time. The story given by Gregory of Tours of seven bishops being sent from Rome to Gaul about 250 is unreliable, and the similarity of Creeds is only a part of the problem of a similarity of rites so close, that it is possible to speak of a single Western European rite. And their agreement with the Creed of Niceta is to be accounted for partly by the fact that Christianity in Northern Italy was probably of Eastern origin, as it certainly was in Gaul, and partly by the movement of words and phrases from the East to the West. So we found forms of a Creed much

like R growing up in Gaul and Northern Italy independently of Rome, and Rome in all probability retaining, with its innate respect for venerable formulas, an older and less developed type of Creed. How then, and when, did Rome change from G, the Gelasian form, to R? We concluded that the intense conservatism, which maintained *natum et passum* unchanged in the body of the interrogatory Creed until our own day, would postpone this change until the fourth century, and probably until its latter half, while the change must have been made not later than the episcopate of Ambrose, which began in 374. The suggestion that R was formed at the Council of 371 in the pontificate of Damasus was a sheer guess in the dark, but at least it satisfied all the conditions of the problem; bishops from Gaul and Northern Italy were present and the pressure of Apollinarianism was then being felt.

Similarly T is an enlarged form of R. Analogy would lead us to suppose that the new matter was first added somewhere in the provinces, and possibly that it also travelled from the Danubian regions; and that the acceptance of T in Rome took place at a later date. Moreover there are facts which would seem to make the truth of this supposition all but certain. The Gregorian Sacramentary is later than the Gelasian. It represents a revision of the Roman rite, which in the eighth century passed for the work of Gregory the Great. Probably between 784 and 791 a copy of the Sacramentary was sent by Pope Adrian to Charlemagne, who had expressed the wish to circulate throughout his dominions the most correct form of the Roman services. The Gregorian books are based upon this official copy, as the Gelasian MSS. represent the unrevised Sacramentaries previously in use. The Gregorian Sacramentary contains also a supplement of non-Roman matter, but this does not now concern us, as the office of baptism occurs in the Roman portion.

The interrogatory Creed in the Gregorian Sacramentary keeps, in the middle section, the short form of the Gelasian, *natum et passum*, and this, as we said, survives until to-day. But in the declaratory Creed this section has been enlarged to the form it takes in R. Hence we may infer that owing to some scruple or

other it was easier to change the declaratory than the interrogatory form, and the enlargement of the latter was in some way dependent on that of the former. But this scruple does not seem to have affected the first and last sections, for in the modern interrogatory Creed these are exactly the same as in T. But the form in the Gregorian Sacramentary is intermediate between the Gelasian and the modern form; it contains *Creatorem caeli et terrae* and *catholicam*, but not *sanctorum communionem* or *vitam aeternam*. The inference seems almost inevitable that in 784 these two clauses were not in the declaratory Creed of Rome, that is, that Rome had not then accepted T in its full shape, and had either rejected the clauses when offered, or, as seems far more probable, the enlargements made in some provincial Creed, which had not yet grown to the full stature of T, had travelled to Rome and had been adopted. It follows that we must date the adoption of T at Rome between 784 and 900.

To this inference one objection may be made. T appears in the *Psalterium Latinum et Graecum Papae Gregorii* (N. 468) in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and Caspari assigns this to Pope Gregory III (731–741). The MS. is of the fifteenth century and was probably written in England. It contains also the Lord's Prayer and the usual hymns and is written throughout in parallel columns, the one in Latin and the other in Greek; but the Greek as well as the Latin is in Roman characters. Heurtley (*Harm. Sym.* pp. 82–83) gives a copy of the Latinized Greek text and a transcription into Greek characters. It would seem far more probable that the Pope referred to was Gregory the Great, as Heurtley thinks, and that the Psalter has even less to do with him than has the so-called Gregorian Sacramentary.

II. The Formation of T

But for a mixture of ablatives and accusatives due to scribal errors, the variant *ad inferna* for *ad inferos*, and the omission of *est* after *venturus*, T exists word for word in a treatise of Priminius, as he is called in the almost contemporary MS. *Dicta Abbatis Priminii de singulis libris canonicis scarapsus*

(L. p. 15, H. p. 42), where *scarapsus* probably = *excerpsus*, excerpt.

Moreover T is extremely like the Creeds in the Gallican Sacramentary and Missal, and much of the matter in which T differs from R is to be found—along with other phrases—in the Spanish symbol, the Mozarabic Liturgy, and the Antiphonary of Bangor (L. pp. 11, 13). Where did this matter come from, and what are these later documents?

(*a*) *The Transportation of Danubian Words and Phrases to the West*

It may be objected at the outset that identical phrases might be inserted into the Creed in different places independently. In some instances this objection is undoubtedly valid. The word *hujus*, for instance, before *carnis resurrectionem* in the Creed of Aquileia is almost certainly connected with the Origenistic controversy, as is indicated by the comment of Rufinus. Jerome's translation of the letter of Epiphanius to John of Jerusalem (Venice, 1766, I. p. 248 B), *Quis autem patienter ferat Origenem lubricis argumentationibus resurrectionem carnis hujus negantem?* all but asserts what Rufinus implies. In the Creed of Niceta *hujus* is improbable. It occurs also in the Creed of Gregory of Elvira (bp. *c.* 357–384) and in the Mozarabic Liturgy (L. p. 11). Here we may have simply an instance of a similar cause producing similar effects.

Possibly another such instance would be the phrase *Creatorem caeli et terrae*, which was originally taken from Gen. i. 1. It was in the Creed of Jerusalem before 350. It appears also in the Acacian Creed of the Council of Seleucia in 359, where it is unlikely that it was derived from a Creed used by Cyril. We find it also in the Creed of Niceta and in Mai's Arian Fragments, again independently of both the previous instances. In Niceta it is probably an importation from the East—since the evangelization of the Danubian region eventually derives from Asia Minor—and there is some ground for thinking that it was in the local Baptismal Creed of Constantinople; but when we find it in the Gallican Sacramentary (L. p. 12) it has probably been

derived from the Danubian district. Conceivably it might be taken from the Constantinopolitan Creed, but this is unlikely as the regular translation is *Factorem* or sometimes *Conditorem*, but *Creatorem* is very uncommon.

In some cases we know the origin of a phrase. Thus Rufinus tells us that *invisibilis et impassibilis* was inserted into the Creed of Aquileia as a counterblast to Sabellianism, and the author of the *Explanatio* asserts that the Arians took it over thence to propagate their heresy: so we find in Mai's Arian Fragments IV, *qui visus est et quem nemo vidit hominum nec videre potest, qui impassibilis est et qui pro nobis passus est*; Auxentius has *invisibilem, impassibilem, immortalem*; Ulphilas, the Arian bishop of the Goths, *solum ingenitum et invisibilem*; and the Arian Council of Sirmium in 357 *invisibilem esse, immortalem esse, impassibilem esse*. In the Antiphonary of Bangor (L. p. 13) and in the *Expositio Fidei*, ascribed by Caspari (*Anecdota*, pp. 283–299) to a Gallican author of the sixth or seventh century, it is probably a Danubian importation, but in African Creeds it would seem to be an early and original feature, running back to 1 Tim. i. 17, "Now unto the king eternal, incorruptible, invisible, the only God, etc.".

Another phrase of the Western Baptismal Creed probably often due to Arian and Danubian influence is *Deus* joined with *Dominus* in the second clause. This of course is perfectly orthodox; the deity of our Lord is strongly asserted in the Nicene Creed and *per Jesum Christum Dominum et Deum nostrum* is quoted in Mai's Arian Fragments VII as the conclusion of the preface in the canon of the orthodox Danubian rite, and in this, as in other instances, may have been taken from John xx. 28; but it appears to have been adopted by the Arians to disguise their heresy: *Filius autem Patri non est Deus sed omni creaturae Dominus et Deus est Filius* (Frag. IV); *credentes in Patrem per Filium Dominum et Deum nostrum Jesum Christum* (Frag. XIV). Germinius, Arian Bishop of Cyzicus and afterwards of Sirmium, has *Dominum Deum nostrum*; Ulphilas *in unigenitum Filium Ejus, Dominum et Deum nostrum*; then we find it in Gaul, e.g. Gregory of Tours (*ob.* 594) *Dominum Deum nostrum*; and then in the Spanish Creeds (L. p. 11) *Deum et Dominum nostrum*.

Probably the same may be said of the epithets *unigenitus* and *sempiternus*. *Unicus* and *unigenitus* are both translations of μονογενής, but while the latter became the regular form in Latin versions of the Nicene Creed, the former was standardized in Gallican and North Italian baptismal Creeds. *Unigenitus* was, however, preferred by Arians as contrasting with *ingenitus*: *Filius in sua unigenita natura* (Frag. III); *Ingenitus, et unigenitus; Genitor et qui genitus est; Substantiam...Patris ingenitam et Filii unigenitam; Filius autem Deus est et unigenitus* (Frag. IV). In these Arian fragments *unicus* only seems to occur twice, once in the quotation from the orthodox Creed, and once in the translation of John iii. 16.[1]

Sempiternus is another word which may have come from this region. We find it explained in Frag. VI: *Sempiternum autem sic dicimus Filium, quia cum initium habeat Filius, finem tamen (non) habiturum, sed mansurum in sempiternum. Verum unigenitum Filium* and *Tu Patris sempiternus es Filius* occur in the *Te Deum*; *Filium Ejus unigenitum* in the Creed of Auxentius; both words come together in the Gallican Sacramentary and Missal (L. p. 12), and the occurrence of the term "only-begotten" in our baptismal form of the Apostles' Creed is probably to be reckoned as Gallican.

So in our baptismal form we end with "everlasting life after death". In the Antiphonary of Bangor (L. pp. 13, 14) we find *vitam post mortem et vitam aeternam in gloria Christi*, and in the interrogatory Creed in the Gallican Sacramentary we have *vitam habere post mortem in gloriam Christi resurgere*, and in the *Interpretatio Symboli* ascribed to Magnus of Sens *vitam post mortem et regnare cum Christo in saecula saeculorum*: Burn concludes that this interrogatory Creed is the work of some Irish monk following the model of the Bangor Antiphonary, and our baptismal form is due to the influence of Irish monks who traversed England.

Take again the three phrases *descendit ad inferos*, *resurrexit vivus a mortuis* and *ascendit victor*. Probably all these are

1 Cp. the Verona fragment, Cognoscentes unum Dominum invisibilem Patrem per unigenitum Ejus visibilem Filium. *J.T.S.* XIII. p. 28.

intimately associated. Sanday (*J.T.S.* III. p. 17) says of the first, "Before Rufinus wrote (*c.* A.D. 400) a similar clause (εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια κατελθόντα [κατεληλυθότα]) had already made its appearance in the three allied *formulae* of Sirmium (359), Nike in Thrace (359) and Constantinople (360).... The Sirmian formula was composed by Mark of Arethusa in Syria; and although we cannot produce from this region a definite creed containing the clause, we can produce two pieces of evidence which are sufficiently creed-like to serve our purpose. One of these is the Letter to Abgarus (Eus. *H.E.* I. xii. 20...). And the other is from the doxology at the end of the Syrian *Didascalia*.... Syria—the Balkan peninsula—Aquileia would be the line of stepping-stones that I should be disposed to construct, and between the last two we can now add Stridon, the home of Jerome".

Then we find *ad inferos* in the *Quicumque Vult*; *ad inferna* in Venantius Fortunatus (*c.* 530–600), the Antiphonary of Bangor, the Gallican Sacramentary and Missal, Spanish Creeds (L. pp. 11 and 13), and finally in Priminius. The doctrine of the Descent into Hell is in Cyril of Jerusalem associated with the delivery of the patriarchs, and this was certainly understood to be its implication in later times; thus we find in a sermon beginning *Simbolum Graeca lingua est*: *Sicut ipse tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, facta praeda in inferno, et vivus exit de sepulchro. Vivus* in the Creed of Niceta is probably connected with 1 Pet. iii. 18, *Vivificatus autem spiritu. Vivens a mortuis* occurs in a Creed of Aquileia published by de Rubeis, and then we find *vivens* in Spanish Creeds and in the Mozarabic Liturgy (L. p. 11). The Profession of Adalbertus Morinensis (*c.* 730) has *ad inferna descendit indeque victor resurgens*, and one of the Creeds in the Gallican Missal and Pseudo-Augustine Sermon 240 *ascendit victor ad caelos* (L. p. 13 n.).

Inde seems to have travelled by much the same route. Obviously "thence" could not occur in a Creed unless preceded by some mention of the Ascension or Heavenly Session of our Lord, and would therefore be absent from any Creed of the second century; but as soon as either of these articles was

incorporated, it would seem a natural word of transition to the next; yet Eastern Creeds have uniformly *ἐρχόμενον* or *ἥξοντα* simply or with *καί*, *τε*, or *πάλιν*, the only exceptions being *ὅθεν* in the Creeds of Basil of Caesarea and Marcellus of Ancyra. The first appearance of *ἐκεῖθεν* is in a recapitulation under the article dealing with the Holy Spirit in the Creed of the Council of Nike in Thrace in 359, *τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας· ὅπερ καὶ Αὐτὸς ἀπέστειλεν ἀνελθὼν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς, καὶ καθίσας ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρός, ἐκεῖθεν ἐρχόμενος κ.τ.λ.*, and here the main body of the Creed has *ἐρχόμενόν τε* simply. Then we find *inde* in Niceta, Jerome, and Mai's Arian Fragments, and after this in North Italy, Gaul, and Spain, where, however, in some instances it may have been inserted independently.

It will be easier to grasp the theory of transportation if we exhibit all the differences of T from R in tabular form, noting where the additional matter appears first in the Danubian district and then to the west of it before 700.

	Danube	Italy	Gaul	Spain
Creatorem caeli et terrae		See p. 132		
conceptus	J.	—	F.C.E.Ban.	—
mortuus	N.	—	L.	G.
descendit ad inferna		See pp. 134, 135		
Dei	J.	—	V. (F.?) Ban.	P.Sp.
omnipotentis	—	—	(F.?) Ban.	P.Sp.
Credo	J.	—	F. (E.?) Ban.	(G.?) (P.?) Sp.Moz.
catholicam	N.J.	—	F.Ban.	Sp.Moz.
sanctorum communionem	N.J.	—	F.Ban.	Moz.
vitam aeternam	N.M.J.	R.	F.E.Ban.	Sp.Moz.

N. = Niceta of Remesiana, p. 52; J. = Jerome, p. 57; M. = Mai's Arian Fragments, p. 52; R. = Peter Chrysologus of Ravenna, p. 9; V. = Victricius of Rouen, p. 74; L. = Leporius of Marseilles, p. 74; F. = Faustus of Riez; C. = Cyprian of Toulon; E. = Eligius of Noyon, p. 74; Ban. = Antiphonary of Bangor, p. 13; G. = Gregory of Elvira, p. 72; P. = Priscillian, pp. 11, 12; Sp. = Spanish Creeds of the sixth century, p. 11; Moz. = Mozarabic Liturgy, p. 11.

Of the Spanish Creeds those of Ildefonsus of Toledo, I (*c.* 660) and Etherius and Beatus, E (785) are too like that of Martin of Braga (*de Correctione Rusticorum*, *c.* 573) to be independent of it. Martin's Creed rests on four MSS., *Codex Toletanus*, *Codex Bernensis* and two *Codices Sangallenses*, of

which the first is the best. Lietzmann, p. 11, gives the combined result.

Deum et Dominum, only in *Cod. Tolet.*, but the Council of Seville in 619 said, *In ipso initio apostolici symboli geminae in una eademque Christi persona naturae distinctio, deitatis ex Patre, dum dicit: Credo...in Jesum Christum, Filium Ejus unicum, Deum et Dominum nostrum*, etc., and *Deum* is in I and E.

descendit ad inferna only in *Cod. Tolet.*, I and E. *Dei omnipotentis* not in Martin, but in I, E, and the Mozarabic Liturgy.

vivus, *catholicam*, and *vitam aeternam* are in all the documents.

The evidence we have given is cumulative in its effect: the probability of the westward transportation of Danubian words and phrases increasing in geometrical progression with each new instance; the general rule may, therefore, be taken to be established, and this rule must be allowed weight in doubtful cases. We should accordingly judge that there must have been some contact between Martin and the region of the Danube.[1] And this is confirmed by his personal history. He was born in Pannonia between 510 and 520. When a young man he went to Palestine, and then settled in Galicia in the north of Spain, where he converted many of the Gothic invaders from Arianism and founded several monasteries, including one at Dumium of which place he was made bishop. He attended the Council of Braga in 561 and probably drafted the *Acta*. By 572 he was Archbishop of Braga, and subsequently he corresponded with Venantius Fortunatus. He died in 580 or 583.

And, further, whatever be the motive for the original insertion of the new matter, the actual words will in all cases bear an entirely orthodox meaning, and so might be embodied in any Catholic Creed. It is not necessary to take *Deus* or *sempiternus* in an Arian sense; *hujus carnis* need not be interpreted with a materialistic literalness; and the doctrine of our Lord's Descent need not carry with it all that has been understood at various times by the "Harrowing of Hell"; so this article might be recited in good faith even if we read with Rendel Harris ἐν ᾧ καὶ Ἐνὼχ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασι πορευθεὶς ἐκήρυξεν (1 Pet. iii. 19).

1 See Loofs' *Symbolik*, p. 40.

(*b*) *The Documents and Persons*

The MS. of the *Antiphonary of Bangor* is now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. It consists chiefly of hymns and other portions of the day and night Hours, including the *Te Deum*, and was written between 680 and 691 at the monastery of Bangor near Belfast (founded by Comgall in 558) and may be considered an offshoot of the Gallican rite. The many easternisms of the Irish Church came to it by way of Gaul.[1]

The *Gallican Sacramentary* (Cod. Paris Lat. 13246) is not a sacramentary but a missal, and is better called the *Missal of Bobbio* from the place where the MS. was found. It is a strange mixture of rites, partly Roman and partly Gallican (or Irish),[2] and contains four forms of Creed. I give the first two, marking the differences from T, and notes on the others.

I	II
Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem,	Credo in Deum omnipotentem,
Creatorem caeli et terrae.	
Credo in (Jesum Christum),	Et in (Jesum Christum),
Filium Ejus *unigenitum sempiternum*....	Filium Ejus unicum,
	Dominum nostrum,
Concept*um* de Spiritu Sancto,	qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto,
nat*um* ex Maria virgine,	natus ex Maria virgine,
passus sub Pontio Pilato,	pass*um* sub Pontio Pilato,
crucifix*um*, mortu*um* et sepult*um*,	crucifix*um*, mortu*um* et sepult*um*,
descendit ad infer*na*,	descendit ad infer*na*,
tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,	tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,
ascendit ad caelos,	ascendit ad caelos,
sed*it* ad dexteram Dei	sed*it* ad dexteram
Patris omnipotentis,	Patris omnipotentis,
inde venturus judicare	inde venturus judicare
vivos et mortuos.	vivos et mortuos.
Credo in (*Sancto Spiritu*);	Credo in Spiritum Sanctum;
Sancta ecclesia catholica;	Sanctam ecclesiam catholicam;
Sanctorum communionem;	
Remissionem peccatorum;	Remissionem peccatorum;
Carnis resurrectionem;	Carnis resurrectionem;
Vitam aeternam.	Vitam aeternam.

1 See Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, pp. 57, 58.

2 See Edmund Bishop, in *J.T.S.* VIII. p. 293.

Burn holds that Form I, which is interpolated in a sermon used in the *Traditio Symboli*, was that used by the monks of Bobbio, and that Form II, which is embodied in an exposition, is that of the original author. We cannot infer that because in the latter *Patrem*, *Creatorem caeli et terrae*, *Dei*, *sanctorum communionem* are not referred to in the comment, they were absent from the Creed; we have similar omissions in the quotations in the reply of Amalarius, Bishop of Trèves, to the questions issued by Charlemagne in 789 (Alcuin, II. p. 522), namely, *conceptus de Spiritu Sancto*, *Patris*, and *vitam aeternam*, though it is clear from the context that the last was in the Creed and there is no doubt that Amalarius had the full form T.

Form III is an interrogatory Creed ending *vitam aeternam post mortem in gloriam Christi resurgere*.

Form IV assigns each clause to an Apostle following the order given in Acts i. 13; it omits *Creatorem caeli et terrae* and *mortuus*; the second clause runs *natum de Maria virgine per Spiritum Sanctum*; and it ends *Credo in ecclesiam sanctam*; *Per baptismum sanctum* (instead of *sanctorum communionem*) *remissionem peccatorum*; *Carnis resurrectionem in vitam aeternam*, with which compare Jerome, *Carnis resurrectionem ad vitam aeternam*.

It is notable that the name of Ambrose occurs in the Canon of the Mass, a peculiarity not met with in any other Gallican or Frankish Sacramentary.

On the other hand, the *Gallican Missal* (Cod. Vet. Palat. Lat. 493) is a volume made up of fragments of two sacramentaries, one probably connected with Auxerre, while the other cannot be located. It gives three forms of the Creed, the first reading *unigenitum sempiternum* and the last *ascendit victor ad caelos*.

To these authorities may be added Sermons 240, 241, 242, 243 of Pseudo-Augustine and the so-called Sacramentary of Gellone.[1]

The monastery of Bobbio, where one text of the Missal of Bobbio was discovered, was founded by Columban. Columban was born in Leinster, *c.* 543, and his chief training was at

1 In *J.T.S.* III. pp. 488, 489, Burn gives in full three forms each from the Gallican Sacramentary and Gallican Missal, two each from the Sacramentary of Gellone and Ps.-Aug. *Sermo* 242, and one from Ps.-Aug. *Sermo* 243.

Bangor under the eye of Comgall. About the year 585 he crossed over to France with twelve monks, making a short stay in England on the way. In 590 or 591 he founded a monastery at Luxeuil (Luxovium) in Burgundy. Partly on account of his retention of the Irish tonsure, the Irish date for Easter, and the Irish *cursus*, or arrangement of the Hour-Offices, partly from jealousy of his unworldliness, and partly for his denunciation of the profligacy of the king, Theodoric II, he was carried prisoner to Besançon, and, when he escaped, was banished in 610, being shipped from Nantes to go to Ireland. The ship, however, was blown back by contrary winds to the coast of Neustria and thence he went to Metz to the court of Theodebert, King of Austrasia and brother of Theodoric, where he was visited by monks from Luxeuil. He then went to the Lake of Zurich, but had to flee from the idolatrous populace to Lake Constance, where he was hospitably received by the Christian priest Willimar at Arbon. Then he went to Bregenz at the eastern end of the lake, and after preaching in the neighbourhood for three years, he left behind his companion Gall—who became the founder of the monastery of St Gallen—and with one disciple crossed the Alps into Lombardy, the king of which, Agilulf, assigned to him in 613 a district between Genoa and Milan where he founded the monastery of Bobbio. Though the new King of Neustria, Clothair II, who was now also King of Austrasia and Burgundy, invited him to return, he refused to leave and died at Bobbio in 615.

Priminius, or Pirminius as he is more usually known, was a Benedictine monk, probably Irish (see *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov. ii. 1. 1894), who was consecrated Rural Bishop of Meaux, *c.* 724, and went thence to the Lake of Constance, where he founded the abbey of Reichenau on an island in the western arm of the lake, and subsequently others in Bavaria and Alsace, and finally the abbey of Hornbach, near Zweibrücken in the Rhenish Palatinate, where he died in 758. In his treatise the Creed is quoted three times in different contexts; the first narrating the legend of its apostolic origin and assigning each clause to an Apostle, the list agreeing with that given in the Missal of Bobbio,

except that this gives the last clause to Matthias, while Priminius assigns it to Thomas in addition to the sixth. The second is in an account of the service of Baptism, and here Priminius has much in common with Martin of Braga, but he gives T instead of Martin's Creed; he quotes the Roman prayer of unction; and he speaks of the act of Baptism as following immediately the recitation of the Creed, which was a distinctively Roman custom. On the other hand, as has been said, Priminius employs the full form, T, in the interrogations, whereas Rome was then using either the form given in the Gelasian or that of the Gregorian Sacramentary. The third is in a summary of the teaching of Faith and Morals.

We should judge from the occurrence of T in so many documents ascribed to the seventh and eighth centuries that it could not be much later than 650, and this conjecture is strongly confirmed by its presence in the sermon beginning *Simbolum graeca lingua est*. This sermon is found in the *Codex Sessorianus* which we have already noticed as containing the seventh *Ordo Romanus*. It occurs also in the *Codex Sangallensis* of the ninth century, and *Codex* 73 of the eleventh century at Vésoul. Both these latter have (*ascendit*) *victor* (*ad caelos*), a Danubian feature, but in spite of this addition *Cod. Sangall.* is the shortest and, no doubt, the most primitive of the three. But there are two specially interesting points about this sermon.

(1) In the explanation of the article on the Forgiveness of Sins, *Codd. Sangall.* and *Sessor.* mention seven methods: (1) by baptism; (2) by penance; (3) by martyrdom; (4) by forgiveness of enemies; (5) by true contrition: i.e. by works of mercy; (6) by almsgiving; (7) by suffering, *doloribus multis*. The Vésoul MS. substitutes *per praedicationem*, i.e. by converting a sinner, for the last item. This list is derived from Rufinus's translation of Origen, *Homil. II in Levit.* 4, where Origen's list gives: (1) baptism; (2) martyrdom; (3) almsgiving; (4) forgiveness; (5) conversion of a sinner; (6) abundance of charity; (7) penance. The rarity of this enumeration makes the derivation certain.

(2) In the explanation of the Communion of Saints, the sermon says: *Ibi est communicatio sancta* (*per invocationem*)

Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, ubi omnes fideles diebus dominicis communicare debent. Dom Morin (*Rev. Bénéd.* XI. p. 485) asserts that this compels us to give the sermon an early date. The practice of weekly communion was primitive and maintained generally throughout the Church in the fourth century, but appears to have been relaxed after that date in the West more than in the East. The Penitential of Theodore of Tarsus says that among the Greeks a cleric or layman who did not make his communion for three successive Sundays was excommunicated, but that this was not the rule among the Romans. The Council of Agde in 506, which was presided over by Caesarius of Arles, only orders lay people to communicate three times a year, and this canon was re-enacted in 670 by the Council of Autun. Hence we should be inclined to put the sermon early, and probably in the neighbourhood of St Gallen, both on account of the locality of the MSS., and because this particular interpolation of *sanctorum communionem* appears to have come from the East by way of the imperial road which ran to Bregenz.

(*c*) *Conclusions*

The desire for liturgical uniformity in the West does not seem to have arisen in the mind of the Pope before the time of Damasus. The attempt of Innocent I in 416 to obtain it even within his own metropolitical jurisdiction witnesses to the variety of uses prevalent, and the advice of Gregory I at the end of the sixth century testifies to the same effect. At his accession in 769 Charlemagne found in his domains a state of liturgical anarchy.[1] It follows that the mere fact that we find fragments of the Roman baptismal rite in use is no good evidence that the Roman Creed was also employed. A striking case is that of Priminius, who, along with many Roman forms, employed T as an interrogatory Creed, which was not the use current at Rome. But it does, of course, show that the places to which parts of the Roman rite have been transported were on a route from Rome, and if we are dealing with France or Switzerland,

1 Edmund Bishop, *Genius of the Roman Rite*, p. 27.

this would mean that they were even more accessible from Milan.

In the remoter districts, even in the seventh century, metropolitical jurisdiction may have been imperfectly organized, nevertheless a local bishop would have tended to look to the nearest metropolitical see, while the influence of Ambrose stretched far beyond his formal jurisdiction, and this would, to some extent, be inherited by his successors.

The Roman form of renunciation in baptism was employed, in the seventh century, as far north as Constance, as is shown by Gall's sermon,[1] preached at Constance at the consecration of his deacon John in 615; and until the erection of Mainz into an archbishopric by Boniface, with jurisdiction reaching as far south as Chur (Curia), where there had been a bishopric from at the latest the fifth century, such Christians as there were in the neighbourhood of the Lake of Constance and the valley of the Upper Rhine would tend to look south, ultimately perhaps to Rome, but immediately to Milan.

In 400 *R was the declaratory Creed both of Milan and of Rome*, and so would possess a double prestige. *T is R enlarged by Danubian phraseology*, and if we may speak of anything quite so definite as a Danubian rite, by the end of the fifth century this would have extended at least as far as Augsburg, where there were Christians before Constantine; Bregenz, which was on the great road from Constantinople; and the plains of Lombardy; and it is shown by many examples that at this time or during the next hundred years its influence reached much farther to the west. Hence we should look for the formation of T probably *at some point near the Lake of Constance, or along a line to the south of Milan and Bobbio.* The Missal of Bobbio contains two Creeds, already given as Form I and Form II, both very similar to T; the former, however, contains the Danubian phrase *unigenitum sempiternum* and the latter, which keeps the Roman and Milanese *unicum*, can only be partly recovered from the exposition in which it occurs. Kattenbusch thinks that this Missal was compiled at the mother house in

1 Canisius, *Lect. Ant.* I. p. 785, ed. Basnage, 1725.

Luxeuil, others, with greater probability, choose Bobbio. The point is of minor importance; in any event Bobbio and Luxeuil would be likely to be in some sort of communication, and the route between them would pass through St Gallen by which Columban, the founder of both monasteries, had travelled, and where he left behind him his disciple Gall, the founder of St Gallen. Nor are we entirely limited to a highly probable conjecture. When Venantius Fortunatus made his pilgrimage to Tours, he passed through the kingdom of Austrasia; Rufinus's translation of Origen's homily on Leviticus was read by Walafrid Strabo of Reichenau (founded by Priminius), and of Fulda (founded by Boniface), and by Angelomus of Luxeuil (founded by Columban), and MSS. of it are found at Laon and Chartres, as well as at Paris, where it was read by Aeneas, as it was at Orleans by Jonas. We may take it that it travelled from Aquileia by way of the Lake of Constance and through the gap of Belfort between the Vosges and the Jura. Part of this homily was embodied, or alluded to, in the sermon *Simbolum graeca lingua est*, of which MSS. are found at St Gallen and Vésoul, the former being the earlier of the two. One of the constituents of the Gallican Missal is to be located at Auxerre. We can reject the possibility of T being first formed at Rome; any contact with Danubian Christianity must have come to Rome from the north, and T was apparently not in use at Rome in the time of Pope Adrian. Our choice will, therefore, lie between the neighbourhood of Milan and some point to the north of it about Lake Constance, and geographical distribution would incline us to the latter.

But now we come to Priminius. Apart from this use of Roman forms we know of no contact between Priminius and Rome, and the Roman form of renunciation, *Abrenuntio diabolo* (the modern form is *satanae*) *et omnibus operibus ejus, et omnibus pompis ejus*, is found in Gall's sermon. We may, therefore, justly suppose that Priminius would find these Roman forms at the other end of Lake Constance, and take them with him to Reichenau. Priminius's description of baptism is very similar to that of Martin of Braga, indeed so much are they alike that

Burn thought he was drawing upon Martin. But it would seem improbable that Martin's *de Correctione Rusticorum* should have travelled from Spain to Reichenau, and far more likely that both are describing the Danubian rite, already partially Romanized, with in the one case Spanish and in the other Irish modifications. After leaving Reichenau, Priminius went eventually to Hornbach, where he was visited by Boniface, and Burn (*J.T.S.* III. p. 485) thinks that the use of T can be traced along the line of the missionary journeys of the two.

It will be seen that all roads seem to lead from the *Lake of Constance*, and therefore that *T was probably composed somewhere in that neighbourhood and in the first quarter of the seventh century* rather than later. To go beyond this would be mere conjecture. Yet perhaps one may be pardoned for indulging in a pure fancy which is nevertheless in accord with all the evidence.

The explanation of *sanctorum communionem* in the sermon *Simbolum graeca lingua est* is remarkable. We shall endeavour to show in our last chapter that it is Eastern and early, and so could be found on the road from Constantinople, say at Bregenz. May not its occurrence in this sermon imply that the bishop who preached it was trained, as was so often the case, at one of those homes of learning, a monastery, where Rufinus would be more likely to be read; and that he was endeavouring (and perhaps already with success) to make the primitive custom the rule of his diocese, as it had no doubt been the minimum requirement in his own monastery? The form T must have been carried by someone, and the great missionaries of this time, as well as many a bishop, had all been cloister-bred, and it is quite possible, as Kattenbusch thinks,[1] that R was originally enlarged to T for use in the hour-offices.

And if probability would carry us thus far, and points to the Lake of Constance as the distributing centre, may we hazard the guess that T was used by the deacon John at whose consecration Gall preached the sermon containing the Roman form of renunciation and the Danubian phrases: *Sempiternus...*

1 *Ap. Symb.* II. p. 793 n. 53.

Deus, cum coeterna Sapientia hoc est Filio sempiterno, et Charitate, sibi et Filio consempiterna id est Spiritu Sancto; de...virginis utero Dominum et Deum; devicto mortis imperio resurrexit, this last phrase reminding us of *Tu devicto mortis aculeo* in Niceta's *Te Deum*; and possibly John, now Bishop of Constance, may have preached the sermon *Simbolum graeca lingua est*. The formation of T would then be located at St Gallen or Constance and dated *c.* 615 or shortly after.

How then did T come to be adopted at Rome? The evidence of the Gregorian Sacramentary would seem to show that it came in at least two revisions, the former an enlarged form of R containing *Creatorem caeli et terrae* and *catholicam* and some or other of the words *mortuus*, *descendit ad inferos*, *Dei...omnipotentis*; the latter containing the remaining words, together with *sanctorum communionem* and *vitam aeternam*, that is T at full length. The shorter form must have been brought to Rome between 380 and 791, the later form between 784 and 900. Beyond this there is but one slight indication, namely that the earlier form came to Rome from Milan. All other authorities read, *descendit ad inferna*, the Roman form of T has *descendit ad inferos*, and this is also the form in the *Quicumque Vult*, which, as we shall see, was probably composed by Ambrose.

As regards the second stage, we can at least make a reasonable conjecture. Charlemagne adopted the Gregorian Sacramentary as the standard text to be employed throughout his dominions, but he had it enriched by additions selected from the liturgical books already in use, and eventually Rome adopted this book as enlarged under the authority of himself and his successors. It seems, therefore, reasonable to suppose that at some date before 900, when at the latest the Seventh *Ordo Romanus* was incorporated into the *Codex Sessorianus* at Nonantula, Rome also adopted the additional matter in T beyond that already imported by at latest 791.

APPENDICES

A. The Psalter of Aethelstan and the Codex Laudianus

The Psalter of Aethelstan (Brit. Mus. Cotton MS. Galba XVIII) in its present form is composite. The original MS. (ff. 28–119, 121–117) was written in Caroline minuscules in the ninth century, probably before 850, on the Continent, and probably in Germany, and later additions were made on the spare leaves and supplementary leaves (ff. 22–27) in the tenth century. The rest of the volume (ff. 1–21, 120, 178–200) was written in England in the tenth century. This portion contains a Greek version of the Apostles' Creed, transliterated into Anglo-Saxon,[1] which is succeeded by a litany, and the Lord's Prayer, also transliterated from the Greek, with Latin rubrics, and the litany is obviously a translation from the Latin. Moreover, there is an analogy to this translation of Latin into an Anglo-Saxon transliteration of Greek in the Codex Sangallensis 338, and the Codex of Corpus Christi College at Cambridge. It is, therefore, all but certain that the Creed of the Psalter of Aethelstan is derived from a Latin original.

I subjoin the text as given by Heurtley:

"Pistheu istheu patera panto cratero
ceis criston ihū yon aututon mono
genton quirion imon tongenegenta
ecpneumatus agiu cemariatis parthenu
ton epipontio pilatu staurothenteeta
finta tetrite imera anastanta egni
cron anaunta istos uranos catimeron
indexia tupatros oten erchete crinezon
tas cenicros ceis preuma agion agria
fis inamartion sacros anasta. amen."

The Codex Laudianus is best known as Cod. E of the Acts of the Apostles. It is a Graeco-Latin uncial MS. probably of A.D. 600–650. At some time it must have been in Sardinia, as an edict of Flavius Pancratius, Duke of Sardinia, preceded by the same Creed as that given in the Psalter, only in Latin, is annexed to the Acts. It is probable that the MS. was brought to England by Theodore of Tarsus, when he became Archbishop of Canterbury in 669. It was used by Bede (673–735) in his commentary on the Acts, but its later history is unknown till it was given by Archbishop Laud to the Bodleian Library:

"Credo in Deum Patrem
omnipotem;
Et in Christo Jesu, Filium Ejus

1 For a facsimile of this Creed see Heurtley, *Harmonia Symbolica*, p. 81.

unicum, Dominum nostrum, qui natus est
de Spiritu Sancto et Maria virgine, qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est,
et sepultus, tertia
die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit in caelis,
sedet ad dextera Patris,
unde venturus est
judicare vivos et mortuos; Et in Spiritu Sancto; Sancta
ecclesia; Remissione
peccatorum; Carnis
resurrectionis."[1]

On the other hand the Codices Sangallensis and Cantabrigiensis give the full form of Creed, T.

Not only do the Creeds of the Psalter of Aethelstan and of the Codex Laudianus agree in the number of clauses, but the latter gives

> "qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto et Maria virgine,
> qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est,"

and this is exactly taken over by the Psalter of Aethelstan:

> "ton genegenta ec pneumatus agiu ce maria tis parthenu
> ton epi pontio pilatu stauronthentee."

It would seem to follow that the text which the scribe of the Codex Laudianus attempted to write was the original text of the Greek which the scribe of the Psalter of Aethelstan attempted to transliterate.

Hence the Psalter of Aethelstan has no value independent of the Codex Laudianus, but is merely a second witness to the prevalence of the same text.

It will be noticed that the Codex Laudianus has many scribal errors: "omnipotem", "Christo Jesu Filium", "in caelis", "ad dextera", "Spiritu Sancto", "carnis resurrectionis"; in consequence we cannot attach any value to the occurrence of "unde" instead of the Roman "inde".

It would seem to be a provincial Creed akin to the Creeds of Maximus of Turin and Peter Chrysologus of Ravenna of an earlier age. By the time it was written the Textus Receptus may have already been standardized at Rome, but, even if this were not the case, the limiting forms of the Roman Creed are those of Leo at an earlier and the Textus Receptus at a later time. The resemblance of the Anglo-Saxon transliteration to the Creed of Marcellus of Ancyra, so far as this means more than a resemblance of Western provincial Creeds to Eastern of a somewhat earlier date, is curious but probably accidental. It adds

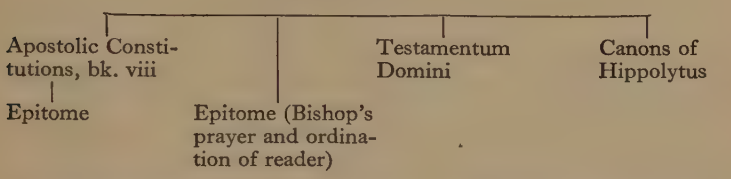
1 See the facsimile in Heurtley, *loc. cit.* p. 62.

to the Creed of Marcellus Patera in the first clause; omits τὸν before Υἱόν and Κύριον, and καὶ before τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ and καθήμενον; reads crine (κρῖναι) for κρίνειν, and eis preuma agion for εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα; "agria" presumably represents ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν though the resemblance is remote; and it omits ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

It may therefore be reckoned as a late survival of one of the group of Western provincial Creeds of the type earlier discussed, but is of little or no authority as determining the Creed of Rome either at the date of its transliteration or at any previous time.

B. The Longer Creed of the Egyptian Church Order

The Egyptian Church Order is known to us through various documents, the general relation of which as given by Dom Connolly[1] is as follows:



Thus these secondary documents are supplementary authorities for the text in various portions.

The original of the Egyptian Church Order is very probably the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus, written in Greek, but this is no longer extant; it exists, however, in various translations, of which the closest and most accurate is the Latin of the Verona Fragments published by Hauler in 1900. Unfortunately these are only fragments, and we must resort to other documents to fill in the hiatus. There is also a translation (1) in Ethiopic, which may be only an Ethiopic translation of an Arabic translation of a Coptic translation of the original Greek; and (2) in Coptic and (3) in Arabic. The Ethiopic rests upon a Greek text other than that of the Coptic and Arabic, and there are indications that it represents an earlier and better Greek textual tradition than do our present Coptic and Arabic versions, better even in some respects than does the Latin,[2] that is, it lies nearer to the form which must have been the common source of the Ethiopic, Coptic, and Latin versions, and also of *A.C.* viii, and of the *Testamentum Domini*. The three oriental versions have been published by Horner as *The Statutes of the Apostles*; the Canons of Hippolytus are to be found in

1 *Texts and Studies*, vol. VIII, no. 4, p. 133.

2 Connolly, *loc. cit.* p. 5.

Turner's *History and Use of Creeds and Anathemas*, p. 92, and all six versions in *J.T.S.* xxv. pp. 134, 135. Our present concern is with the Longer Creed as presented in the four versions of the Egyptian Church Order, the *Testamentum*, and the Canons of Hippolytus, with occasional reference to the Apostolic Constitutions as a supplementary support.

The text of the Creed is as follows:

Ethiopic	Arabic and Coptic
Dost thou believe	Dost thou believe (Copt. Thou believest)
in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ,	in Jesus Christ our Lord (Copt. our Lord Jesus Christ),
the only Son of God the Father,	the only Son of God the Father,
that He became man in an incomprehensible miracle	that He became man by an incomprehensible miracle (Copt. by a miracle for our sake in an incomprehensible unity.)
by the Holy Spirit	from the (Copt. in His) Holy Spirit
and by Mary the virgin	and (Copt. om.) from Mary the (Copt. holy) virgin
without seed of man,	without seed of man,
and He was crucified in the time of Pontius Pilate,	and was crucified (Copt. for us) in the time of Pontius Pilate,
and He died by His own will for our salvation,	and (Copt. om.) died by His own will to save us withal,
and rose from the dead on the third day,	and rose from the dead on the third day (Copt. om. "from the dead")
and released the captives,	and (Copt. om.) released the captives,
and ascended into the heavens,	and (Copt. om.) ascended into the heavens,
and sat down at the right hand of the Father,	and (Copt. om.) sat at the right hand of the (Copt. His good) Father (Copt. in the height),
and He shall come to judge the living and the dead	and He shall come (Copt. comes again) to judge the living and the dead
at His appearing and His kingdom?	at (Copt. according to) His appearing and His kingdom?
And dost thou believe in the Holy Spirit, the good and the sanctifier,	Dost thou believe (Copt. And thou believest) in the Spirit the holy, the good, the sanctifier (Copt. in the holy good and life-giving Spirit, purifying the universe);
and in the holy Church?	in the holy Church? (Copt. ends)
And dost thou believe the resurrection of the body which shall happen to all men;	And dost thou believe in the resurrection of the body which shall happen to everyone;
and the kingdom of the heavens;	and the kingdom of the heavens;
and eternal judgment?	and eternal judgment?

Latin version (Hauler, p. 110)	*Testamentum Domini*, II. 8	Canons of Hippolytus, can. xix
(Credis	Dost thou believe	Dost thou believe
in Deum Patrem omnipotentem?)	in God the Father almighty?	in God the Father almighty?
Credis	Dost thou believe also	Dost thou believe
in Christum Jesum, Filium Dei,	in Christ Jesus, the Son of God, who came from the Father, who is of old with the Father,	in Jesus Christ, the Son of God,
qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto	who was born of Mary the virgin	whom Mary the virgin bore
ex Maria virgine,	through the Holy Spirit,	of the Holy Spirit, who came to save the human race,
et crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato,	who was crucified in the days of Pontius Pilate,	who for us was crucified in the time of Pontius Pilate,
et mortuus est,	and died,	who died,
et sepultus,		
et resurrexit die tertia vivus a mortuis,	and rose the third day alive from the dead,	and on the third day rose from the dead,
et ascendit in caelis,	and ascended to heaven,	ascended to heaven,
et sedit ad dexteram Patris,	and sat at the right hand of the Father,	sat at the right hand of the Father,
venturus judicare vivos et mortuos?	and cometh to judge the living and the dead?	and will come again to judge the living and the dead?
Credis	Dost thou believe also	Dost thou believe in
in Spiritu Sancto;	in the Holy Spirit	the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, who emanates from the Father and the Son?
Et sanctam ecclesiam;	in the holy Church?	
Et carnis resurrectionem?		

The existence of this Creed might be fatal to the theory stated above, but only on one condition, namely, that it could be shown that this Creed was the official interrogatory Creed of the Church of Rome in the time of Hippolytus. But this must be held to be at least doubtful. It is by no means demonstrable even in regard to the whole rite of which it forms part. Of this Fr. Trenholme writes: "The Liturgy in his book is his own, rather than that of the Roman Church of the time, so far as to its detailed language. But its general order and chief formulae are those of the universal Church in the first ages; the skeleton whereon all the historic Liturgies seem to have been subsequently built up".[1]

1 *Church Quarterly Review*, XCIII, Oct. 1921, p. 74.

Of Hippolytus himself but little is known. He would appear to have been of Eastern origin, and by modern writers has been reckoned: (1) Bishop of Portus, (2) Bishop of the Greek-speaking congregation at Rome alongside of the bishop of the Latin-speaking congregation, (3) an anti-pope. In any event he may have had a Creed of a longer and more Eastern type than the official Roman Creed. In later times he was so completely ignored by the Roman Church that Pope Damasus had no authentic information about him. And if the Creed was simply the Creed of his followers, and if the Church of Rome let him drop out of its historical recollection, it may equally well have ignored his Creed. But this possibility being once granted, the Creed of the Egyptian Church Order ceases *ipso facto* to be an obstacle to the view that the official interrogatory Creed of the Roman Church was that of the Gelasian Sacramentary.

And the Creed, even in the comparatively simple form given in the Hauler fragments, seems far more akin to Eastern baptismal Creeds than to those of the West.

Thus *Filius Dei*, which is certified by its appearance in the *Testamentum Domini* and the Canons of Hippolytus, instead of *Ejus* which is the Roman form, occurs in the Creed of Jerusalem, the Nicene Creed, the First Formula of Antioch, and the Creeds of Sirmium, Nike, and Constantinople. The order *Christus Jesus* can hardly be accidental, though even in the Hauler fragments the order varies: "Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi" (pp. 103, 108, 110); "per puerum tuum Christum Jesum" (pp. 105, 107, 109, 115); "in nomine J.C." (p. 111); "in Christo Jesu" (pp. 111, 112); "in Domino J.C." (p. 113). It looks as though Hippolytus had no feeling on the matter either way, but *Christus Jesus* is in no Western Creed up to and including the time of Leo except that of Aquileia, a city specially exposed to Eastern influences.

The phrases *de Spiritu Sancto et Maria virgine*, and *sub Pontio Pilato* we have already discussed; it is sufficient here to say that they first come to light in the Creed of Auxentius of Cappadocia; and seem to be imported into the West from the East. *Mortuus*, again, is in the Eastern Creeds of the *Apostolic Constitutions*; Macarius of Egypt; Sirmium, Nike, and Constantinople; Jerome and Niceta; but not in any Western Creed before the time of Leo. *Vivus*, which is certified by the *Testamentum Domini*, appears first in Niceta of Remesiana, then in Martin of Bracara, a native of Pannonia, in the Mozarabic Liturgy, in several Spanish Creeds, Ildefonsus, Etherius, Beatus, and in the Creed of Theodulf of Orleans, who was of Spanish extraction. It adds no new fact to the resurrection, but may very possibly be connected with the "Harrowing of Hell" (cp. 1 Pet. iii. 18; Jn. v. 21; 1 Cor. xv. 45). Its place in the Creed of Jerome is taken by "trod down the sting of death", and in the oriental versions of the Egyptian Church Order by "released the captives". *In caelis* instead of *caelos* may be a mere copyist's error; if not, it is paralleled in the Creed of Auxentius of

Cappadocia, and in the Creed of Sirmium as given by Hilary of Poitiers, while *in caelo* occurs in the Creed of Philippopolis in 343. For *sedit*, however, this plea will not avail. All the versions have "sat". But the Western provincial Creeds, and the later Roman Creed, have *sedet* consistently. καθίσας, however, occurs in the Creed of Cyril of Jerusalem, the Fourth Creed of Antioch, the Creed of Nike in 359, and the Confession of Theodore of Mopsuestia; καθεσθείς in the Apostolic Constitutions, the Second Creed of Antioch (Athanasius also gives it in the Fourth instead of καθίσας), and in the Creed of Sirmium in 351.

We may discount these facts as we please, but we cannot resist the impression either that the Creed is Eastern, or at least that in its present form it has been worked over in the East.

And the non-Roman character of the Creed is no less apparent if we compare it with Western interrogatory Creeds.

The Creeds of the martyrologies are probably none of them authentic, but taken together they afford an indication of the general length to which Creeds of the reputed dates might be expected to run. The second member is as follows:

Palmatius, *c.* 220	Stephanus, 259	Venustianus, 303
Et in Jesum Christum, Filium Ejus? Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria virgine?	Et in Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum?	Et in Jesu Christo, Filio Ejus? Et in Eum qui passus est et resurrexit? Et in Eum qui ascendit in caelos, et iterum venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos et saeculum per ignem? Et in adventu Ipsius et regnum Ejus?

An unknown author
Hahn[3], p. 36
in Dominum Christum,
Filium Ejus unicum,
Dominum,
natum ex Maria virgine,
passum,
et sepultum?

Even that of Venustianus, in spite of its curious addition of *et saeculum per ignem et in adventu Ipsius et regnum Ejus*, is simpler in structure than the Creed of Hippolytus, and the others are very much more brief.

And with these compare:

de Sacramentis	Maximus of Turin	Gelasian Sacramentary
In Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, et in crucem Ejus?	In Jesum Christum, Filium Ejus, qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto et Maria virgine? (al. conceptus est...et natus est ex)	Et in Jesum Christum, Filium Ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum, natum, et passum?

If any of these, or any combination of them, represents the Roman tradition, then the "Creed of Hippolytus" may conceivably be his, but can hardly be regarded as the official interrogatory Creed of the Roman Church.

Finally there is a third test, though a somewhat unfair one, namely to compare the Creed of Hippolytus with the *declaratory* Creed of Rome in the fourth century. Even by this test its claim must be disallowed. It is of approximately the same length, but

	H.	R.
(1)	Christum Jesum *has been altered to*	Jesum Christum
(2)	Dei *has been altered to*	Ejus
(3)		Passus *has been added*
(4)		Mortuus *has been omitted*
(5)	Resurrexit die tertia *has been altered to*	tertia die resurrexit
(6)	(in caelis *has been altered to*	in *or* ad caelos)
(7)	Sedit *has been altered to*	Sedet
(8)		Inde *has been added*
(9)	In Spiritu Sancto (cp. Rufinus) *has been altered to*	In Spiritum Sanctum
(10)		Remissionem peccatorum *has been added*

Additions, of course, may be normal, but if we omit nos. (3) and (10) and grant that (6) is a mere scribal error in Hippolytus, we still have seven variations, all small and all pointless, and it is precisely such variations for no assignable reason that do not seem to occur.

To sum up. It is quite conceivable that Hippolytus may have adopted a Creed suitable to his own temperament and to that of the mixed congregation over whom he seems to have held sway. The omission of *remissionem peccatorum* may be an authentic touch. Even so, the Creed looks too long for his time. It may have been worked over and elaborated, but to allow this is to give away any case that may be rested on it. As it stands, it abounds in Easternisms; it is out of relation to any Western interrogatory Creed of which we have knowledge; and it would need much adaptation before we could regard it as the parent of the Roman declaratory Creed of a later time. On the other hand, if we suppose that the Gelasian Creed, with the mere alteration of *Credis* to *Credo*, served a second purpose, then it, and the Creed of Ambrose, and that of the Textus Receptus, are seen to stand in a regular order of succession, the shorter and earlier form being in each case verbally embodied in the later and longer.

[One other point may perhaps be mentioned concerning the whole *Ordo*. After Dom Connolly's exposition it would seem impossible to doubt that it is connected with Rome, but it is noticeable that while it mentions bishops, presbyters, deacons, confessors, widows, readers, virgins, subdeacons and exorcists (? "gifts of healing", but cp. *Apostl. Const.* VIII. 26) it omits acolytes. Under Pope Cornelius (251–253)

there were 42 acolytes on the staff of the Roman Church, which suggests that by his time they were an old established institution. The name points to a time when the liturgical language of Rome was still Greek and therefore to a date earlier than Cornelius. Their main function was to carry the *fermentum* from the Pope's Mass to the other congregations in Rome. This practice would seem to be earlier than the time of Irenaeus (Euseb. *H.E.* v. 24), but of course it does not follow that it then fell to the lot of the acolytes. The original institution of acolytes may have gone back to Pope Victor (188–198). In the biography of Victor in the *Liber Pontificalis* we read: "Hic fecit sequentes cleros", not followed by any other indication. Harnack concludes: "So mag auch die Nachricht, dass unter Viktor die Akoluthen zuerst aufgetaucht sind, auf guter Ueberlieferung beruhen" (*Mission*, 4th ed., 1924, p. 863, note). The absence of acolytes from the full list of church officers given by Hippolytus suggests that the organization of the community over which he presided differed from that of the official Church of Rome. Possibly under Hippolytus a similar function was performed by deacons (cp. Just. Mart. *Ap.* i. 65).]

PART II

THE NICENE CREED

CHAPTER XIV

A. ITS ORIGINAL COMPOSITION

THE Nicene Creed, N, was made at the Council of Nicaea in 325; the "homoousian clauses", "that is of the substance of the Father" and "consubstantial with the Father", were new matter which had never appeared in any earlier Creed, nor are they to be found in so many words in Scripture. The history and motive of their insertion can be read in any narrative of the history of the Council of Nicaea and need not be retold here.

The remainder of the Creed was old and drawn from already existing confessions of faith and ultimately from Scripture. As regards its composition there are two extreme theories. The first, which has been often repeated, is that it was based exclusively, or almost exclusively, on the Creed put forward at the Council by Eusebius of Caesarea. The second, which is that of Lietzmann, is that it was independent of the Creed of Caesarea, and based on an unknown Creed of some other see.

Our main authority is the letter sent by Eusebius to his diocese to explain his action at the Council (Theodoret, *H.E.* I. 12; G. p. 182):

> When the formulary had been set forth by us, there was no room to gainsay it; but our beloved Emperor himself was the first to testify that it was most orthodox, and that he coincided in opinion with it; and he exhorted the others to sign it, and to receive all the doctrine it contained, with the single addition of the one word "consubstantial". ...But they, under the excuse of adding the word "consubstantial", made the following formula.

Thus against the former theory Eusebius states that the actual Creed differed from that of Caesarea in many other

respects besides the addition of the technical term. These differences are, in fact, manifest by a comparison of the two forms: "Word", "Life from Life", "First-born of all creation", "before all ages", "lived among men" have been omitted; "cometh" has been substituted for "about to come", and "Holy Spirit" for "One Spirit Holy"; and if we compare N, the Creed of the Council of Nicaea, with other Eastern Creeds which have been untouched by it, and with the remaining portions of Creeds from which we have taken out obviously Nicene interpolations, we shall find little in N which is exclusively Caesarean. But Eusebius also asserts that the Creed of Caesarea won the approval of the Emperor, and if so, this might be expected to have influenced in some degree the composition of N. Not exclusively, however, for it is probable that the bishops of other great sees, such as Alexandria, Jerusalem and Antioch, would not be content to have the Creeds of their own dioceses entirely passed over,[1] and it would be wise statesmanship to enlist their sympathy for the result by allowing each to contribute to its formation: moreover, if we look at the text of the Creed this is what they would actually seem to have done. The number of phrases dealing with the Incarnation: "came down, and was incarnate, and was made man" and "for us men and for our salvation", of which "for us" occurs by itself in the conflate Creed of Antioch and "for our salvation" in that of Caesarea, suggests that we are dealing with a composition rather than a single original.

This conjecture of what probably happened is confirmed by the synodal letter of a council held in Antioch in December 324 addressed to Alexander, Bishop of New Rome.[2] The synod conditionally excommunicated Eusebius, along with Theodotus of Laodicea and Narcissus of Neronias, "until the great and hieratic synod" should meet. Eusebius therefore produced his Creed at Nicaea as evidence of his orthodoxy; the patronage of the Emperor would ensure its consideration; but the Creed

1 See Bright, *Age of the Fathers*, I. pp. 87, 94.
2 *Cod. Par. syr.* 62, published by Schwartz, *Nachrichten von der kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zu Göttingen*, 1905.

of a bishop lying under suspicion of heresy was not likely to be accepted as the exclusive basis of the new formula. This motive also explains why Eusebius did not quote the whole of his Creed; he gave as much as could have any bearing on the heresy with which he was charged, and his omission of the last few clauses is paralleled by their absence from the Creed of the Council.

Chapter XV

B. ITS ENLARGEMENT

I. Dr Hort's Theory

Dr Hort suggested in his *Two Dissertations*, published in 1876, that the Constantinopolitan Creed, C, was simply an expansion of the Creed of Jerusalem made by Cyril about the year 362–364. This theory is based on (1) an identity of wording in the first six clauses; (2) a general similarity; (3) the occurrence of C with but few variations in the *Ancoratus* of Epiphanius which was supposed to be completed in 374 or 375, for Epiphanius was residing at Eleutheropolis near Jerusalem until 367, and after leaving kept in touch with it by correspondence. It will perhaps be advisable to take the last point first.

II. The Shorter Creed of Epiphanius

The text of *Epiphanius* rests on two MSS., both bad; we need therefore have little scruple in admitting the possibility of corruption. The text of C in Epiphanius contains in addition "that is from the substance of the Father", and "the things in heaven and the things in earth", which are in N, but not in the best MSS. of C; and it concludes with the Nicene anathemas, which, as C is a baptismal Creed, are out of place. To put it briefly, the text of C in Epiphanius is a conflate text of C and N, a fact which would be most easily explained by supposing that the *Ancoratus* originally read N, and that some scribe, starting with N, had put either into the text, or in the margin from which they were afterwards incorporated into the text, the readings of C, with which he would no doubt be more familiar.

Secondly, the *Ancoratus* gives two Creeds, C, or substantially C, in chapter 118, and a second Creed, probably the work of Epiphanius himself, in chapter 119.

If we analyse this second Creed, *The Longer Creed*, we find that it consists exclusively of (1) N, (2) catechetical explanations

probably not intended to be recited, and (3) certain additional clauses which can be paralleled in Creeds of Antiochene affinities, and may be assumed to be derived from the local baptismal Creed of Salamis in Cyprus, Epiphanius's own diocese.[1] The conclusion is that neither in this section nor in the *Panarion*, which is later and contains long discussions against Apollinarianism and Macedonianism, against which in common with Marcellianism C is specially directed, does Epiphanius show any knowledge of C. But this Longer Creed in chapter 119, which is N with additions, is said to be in sequence with (ἀκολούθως) (L. p. 17 top) that just before given, hence the Creed in chapter 118, where we now read C, should be N.

The Colophon to C in the present text of Epiphanius asserts that it was made at the Council of Nicaea.

At the end of the previous chapter 118, in reference to the Creed which in our present text immediately precedes it, is this sentence: "And this creed was handed down from the holy Apostles and in (the) Church, the holy city, from all the holy bishops of that time above 310 in number" (L. p. 16). Kattenbusch (I. 257) identified "the holy city" with Jerusalem and thought the words an interpolation; Lietzmann (see his note) thinks that Nicaea is intended and suggests an emendation; Holl (*Griechische Schriftsteller, in loc.*) says no correction is necessary, "the holy city" is the Church, and refers to *Pan.* H. 75, 77; H. 86, 11, 6, and the conclusion of the Περὶ Πίστεως I. 6; II. 5, 9.

In any event "the holy Apostles" is said in reference to the body of the teaching, and "all the holy bishops above 310 in number" must mean the Council of Nicaea.[2] The occurrence of the words "the holy city" cannot be twisted to support Dr Hort's theory; "the holy Apostles, Cyril of Jerusalem, the Nicene Council, in this order, is an impossible arrangement both on grounds of relative authority and of historical sequence.

1 An analysis of this Creed proving the point will be found at the end of this chapter.

2 Cf. *Ep. Synod. Dam. ad Illyr.* Theod. II. 22; Soz. VI. 23, "The faith which was founded at Nicaea according to the authority of the Apostles".

Accordingly Epiphanius here says that the Creed which immediately precedes this sentence, namely C, was handed down from the Council of Nicaea. Clearer testimony could hardly be given that N and not C should be read in this chapter.

The Nicene Anathemas inappropriate to C, but appropriate to N

In our present text C is followed by the Nicene anathemas; but C is a baptismal Creed, and anathemas are inappropriate to baptismal Creeds, and are never found with them. The one apparent exception is the Longer Creed of Epiphanius, and there the reason is obvious. They were not intended to be recited by the candidate, and Epiphanius deals with them merely because he found them in the text of N which he had before him.

And C was obviously composed for a Church where Macedonianism was a pressing danger, as is shown by the accumulation of clauses dealing with the Holy Spirit: "The Spirit, the Holy, the Lord, the Giver of Life, who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the prophets". Epiphanius had himself enlarged the Nicene anathemas against this heresy (L. p. 18); would he then, in place of his own version, have affixed to an anti-Macedonian Creed anathemas which had no reference to Macedonianism?

The Introduction to C advises its Recitation by Catechumens

Going back to the introduction to C, we find immediately before the Creed a piece of advice given to those to whom Epiphanius was writing, that all catechumens are to be taught it word for word as the same mother of all, of you and of us, (teaches). "The same mother of us all" is the whole catholic Church.[1] Its Creed is therefore the Creed of Christendom, N, and not the local Creed of Jerusalem. The *Ancoratus* was written in answer to a request from an Egyptian Christian named Hypatius, and a presbyter Conops, apparently a Pisidian, who, both in his own name and that of his fellow presbyters, sought

1 Cp. "this holy faith of the catholic Church"; "all the holy catholic Church" (L. p. 16 *sub fin.*) and "the catholic and apostolic Church, our mother and yours" in the anathemas (L. p. 18).

instruction from Epiphanius. On Dr Hort's theory, therefore, Epiphanius tells them that in Egypt and Pisidia, as well as at Cyprus, catechumens must be taught the local Creed of Jerusalem in addition to that of their own dioceses, and the Nicene anathemas which have no connexion with the Creed, and that this course is to be taken, because this local Creed is the common Creed of Christendom.

Summarizing these arguments we see that the text of Epiphanius in chapter 118 must originally have read N and not C for

(1) The present text of Epiphanius is a conflate text of N and C.
(2) It ends with anathemas which have no connexion with it, as C is a baptismal Creed.
(3) C is strongly anti-Macedonian, and if Epiphanius had written C and had appended anathemas to it, he would have used his own enlarged anti-Macedonian version (L. p. 18 top), and not the Nicene anathemas in the original version.
(4) C is followed in chapter 119 by a longer Creed based on N which studiously refrains from using any of the phraseology of C, but nevertheless is said to follow from that given in the previous chapter.
(5) In the *Panarion*, which is later than the *Ancoratus*, and deals with Apollinarianism and Macedonianism, Epiphanius shows no knowledge of C.
(6) He says that the Creed given in chapter 118 was handed down from the Council of Nicaea.
(7) And that it is the common Creed of Christendom.
(8) And he advises that catechumens should be taught this Creed in addition to their own local Creed.

But if the original text of Epiphanius read N instead of C, Dr Hort's hypothesis is deprived of the only piece of historical evidence that can be quoted in its support, and rests solely on the resemblance of C to J, the earlier Creed of Jerusalem, as enlarged by Nicene additions. We shall revert to this supposed resemblance later.

The Connexion of C with Constantinople

Moreover a necessary part of the theory is that it should account for the attribution of C to the Council of Constantinople from the time of the Council of Chalcedon onwards. Dr Hort suggested that Cyril's orthodoxy was in question in 381, and that he produced his revised Creed in his own defence. Dr Burn rejected this hypothesis as untenable. Cyril had been orthodox for some twenty years, and his orthodoxy could not have been challenged in a Council presided over by Meletius of Antioch. In this claim Dr Burn is undoubtedly right, and Dr Hort's theory is therefore left hanging in the air, since no connexion is made between Cyril's Creed and Constantinople. An alternative is therefore necessary. Following Kunze, Dr Burn suggested that C was used at the baptism of Nectarius. The supposition is not demonstrably true but exceedingly probable.

But would Nectarius, whoever was his instructor, have been baptized with a Creed entirely unconnected with Constantinople, such as, *ex hypothesi*, C was up to this date? Nectarius was to be bishop of Constantinople, and the Council, which was largely composed of Constantinopolitan bishops, held itself responsible for his orthodoxy; is it likely that they would have approved an alien Creed for the purpose, or that Nectarius, if he had any voice in the matter, would have consented; or that any bishop would have sacrificed the obvious appropriateness of using a Constantinopolitan Creed to his personal prejudice in favour of that of his own diocese? Would it have been courteous to the Council, to the see over which Nectarius was to preside, or to Nectarius himself?

Secondly, would the Council have appointed Cyril or any bishop outside the Constantinopolitan province to instruct Nectarius? Cyril was undoubtedly of eminence and of fame as a catechist, but would local feeling have permitted the appointment of any outsider? Would not such conduct appear to argue the destitution of the province if it could not produce a bishop of sufficient ability from within its own ranks? And, if a man

must be named, would not Gregory of Nyssa have done at least as well?

And thirdly, would Nectarius have signalized his appointment by throwing over the official Creed of his diocese for the sake of a personal preference for the Creed in which he had been himself instructed? Nectarius had the mind of a statesman, and was in high favour with the Emperor on that account; could he have made such a *faux pas*?

Yet the whole theory falls to the ground if any of these questions is answered in the negative. Taken together they suggest a strong cumulative probability against the theory of Dr Burn.

III. The Similarity of C to the Creed of Jerusalem

We now come to the supposed resemblance of C to J and N. Here Dr Hort all but supplies his own refutation. He cites as a parallel case the relation of the Creed of the Nestorians (L. pp. 19, 20) to the Creeds of Antioch (L. p. 18) and Nicaea (L. p. 22).

A comparison between the Creed of Antioch and that of the Nestorians has already been made on p. 95. If we take the phrases in the right-hand column, we find that where the Nestorian Creed differs from that of Antioch for the most part it agrees with N, and that the only differences from both are the additions:

l. 5. "from heaven",

l. 6. "by the Holy Ghost",

l. 7. "and was conceived" (Lietzmann's *ἄνθρωπον γενόμενον* is a Greek translation of a Syriac text which represented the Nicene *ἐνανθρωπήσαντα*),

l. 9. "and He sat at the right hand of the Father".

After "quick and dead" the Creed of Antioch fails us till we come to the clause "forgiveness of sins" which also is in the Creed of the Nestorians. The Creed of Antioch gives "resurrection of the *dead*" and the Creed of the Nestorians "resurrection of the *flesh*", but for this translation of the Syriac Caspari prefers "of the dead".

In short, except for these three, or possibly four, clauses the Creed of the Nestorians follows either the Creed of Antioch or N; this is therefore the sort of result that we should expect to find if C was based on J and N. But in fact the parallel breaks down.

The first six clauses correspond verbally with the Creed of Jerusalem. This is Dr Hort's strong point. Then we continue with the Nicene insertion, interpolated, as in the Creed of Antioch under Meletius, to signalize Cyril's transition to the full Nicene position. And we may go further than that. If Cyril made his Creed under the influence of Athanasius he may have inserted "of the Holy Ghost and Mary the virgin" against what came to be known as Apollinarianism and was condemned by anathema in the Alexandrian Council of 362. But now we come to what no doctrinal motive will cover: "from heaven", "for us under Pontius Pilate", "according to the Scriptures". It would seem unlikely that Cyril would insert these unnecessary words into what must have been a hallowed formula. But in the last part of the Creed his action would seem yet more strange. Here is no insertion, but a total rewriting. *καθίσαντα ἐκ δεξιῶν* becomes *καθεζόμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ*, seemingly an arbitrary change which was sure to be ill-received; *ἐρχόμενον ἐν δόξῃ* becomes *πάλιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης*; *καὶ εἰς ἓν Πνεῦμα, τὸν Παράκλητον* becomes *εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ κύριον καὶ τὸ ζωοποιὸν τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον.*

Obviously the church where such an alteration was made must have been strongly afflicted by Macedonianism. This was undoubtedly true of Constantinople, but was it true of Jerusalem?

Ἐν τοῖς προφήταις becomes *διὰ τῶν προφητῶν*. The order of the next two clauses is inverted; and *καὶ εἰς ἓν βάπτισμα μετανοίας* becomes *ὁμολογοῦμεν ἓν βάπτισμα* and *μετανοίας* is dropped. *Καὶ ἀποστολικήν* is added to the clause on the Church. *Εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν* is weakened to *προσδοκῶμεν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν* and *Εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον* is changed into the rarer phrase *ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος*.[1]

It seems highly unlikely that any bishop would have intro-

1 On these changes see Gibson, *Three Creeds*, note C, pp. 169 ff.

duced such arbitrary changes into his diocesan Creed, and especially a bishop of Cyril's eminence and position. These later changes more than balance the probability drawn from the earlier clauses, and Dr Hort's hypothesis is seen not to be broad enough.

IV. The Alternative View

Now let us try once more to fit the facts. Supposing we were dealing with a Church in a situation such as we know to have been the position at Constantinople in 381, afflicted by Arianism, Apollinarianism, Macedonianism, and Marcellianism simultaneously; then all the extra doctrinal matter is accounted for. And suppose it possessed a Creed containing the phrases "Maker of heaven and earth", and "begotten of the Father before all worlds", the first of which was in the Creed of Remesiana and of the Danubian district, and the second in that of Antioch; if we combine these with the early phrases of the Creed of Nicaea, in much the same fashion as was done at Antioch under Meletius, we obtain C exactly down to "came down".

Moreover every single phrase in C additional to N can be traced in Creeds of Antiochene affinities, with the one exception of "who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified". And this appears to be a new anti-Macedonian coinage, unprecedented in any baptismal Creed, but more likely to have been manufactured at Constantinople than anywhere else. And Constantinople probably obtained its Christianity, and therefore its Creed, from Antioch. From a mere analysis of C we should judge that C is far more probably a revised Creed of Constantinople than of Jerusalem.[1] Nectarius was to be baptized in order to become bishop of a church where all the four heresies were present against which C protests. What more likely than that the local baptismal Creed should have been revised in this sense? And if so the revision must have been made at the time of the Council, and we may say under its authority. Thus we are provided with a much stronger ground for its subsequent attribution to the Council itself.

1 See the note at the end of this chapter.

Beyond the one solid fact of the baptism of Nectarius we have not as yet invoked historical evidence, but this is a fact, whereas that Cyril ever revised his Creed at all is a pure supposition. Now let us turn to history.

(1) Testimonies

(*a*) *Before Nestorius*

Before the rise of the Nestorian controversy, that is within forty or fifty years of the Council of Constantinople, it was acknowledged as a fact both by Macedonians and Catholics that additions against novel heresies had been made by that Council to the Creed of Nicaea. This is seen in the following dialogue, falsely ascribed to Athanasius.

Orthodoxus: Why do you condemn the creed put forth by the 318 holy fathers in Nicaea of Bithynia so that you cast about for another?
Macedonius: And why do you condemn the Creed of Lucian?
Orthodoxus: I condemn the addition which you made, and I can prove that the addition is opposed to the original.
Macedonius: Well, did not you add to the Nicene?
Orthodoxus: True, but nothing opposed to it.
Macedonius: Anyhow you added to it.
Orthodoxus: Matters not then in question, which the fathers have now piously expounded.

de Sancta Trinitate, Dial. III. 1 (Migne, *P.G.* XXVIII. 1204).

The Council of Constantinople, then, added clauses to the Nicene Creed in opposition to the new heresies, namely Apollinarianism, Macedonianism, and Marcellianism.

(*b*) *Nestorius*

In 430 in two letters to Pope Celestine Nestorius writes: "Since those holy and inestimable fathers at Nicaea said nothing more about the holy virgin than that our Lord Jesus Christ was incarnate *of the Holy Ghost and Mary the virgin*" (Mansi, IV. 1022), and, "Blind men who did not even remember the expositions of the holy fathers openly calling to them: 'We believe in one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God incarnate *of the Holy Ghost and Mary the virgin*'" (*ib.* 1024).

So Cyril of Alexandria quotes from Nestorius's sermons: "That your ears may not be shocked by hearing '*was crucified and buried*'...Then he adds to these: 'We believe in one Lord Jesus Christ the only-begotten Son, who was generated from the Father, the consubstantial with the Father, who came down *from heaven* for us and was incarnate *of the Holy Ghost*'." And "Come now, compare with what he said the rendering of our Creed; let us see if this fellow has made no innovations in it".

Then follows N, and then "Well, now, my fine fellow, tell us where they said about the Son 'incarnate *of the Holy Ghost and Mary the virgin*'" (*Adv. Nest.* I. 6, 8).

In a Syriac fragment (Loofs, *Nestoriana*, p. 378): "I am often compelled to say the same things (for I am afraid of those who change the words), that we believe in one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, the only-begotten, begotten of the Father *before all worlds*", and lower down he speaks of certain clergy who said of him, "Before I came we used to make the words of the bishops at Nicaea who say these things of no account".

It is clear (1) that Nestorius is quoting all these phrases from C; and (2) that he calls C the work of the Council of Nicaea; and (3) that Cyril reproaches him for quoting an adulterated instead of the pure text of N. Here then we reach a further point. Judging from this evidence, C was not the Creed of Constantinople enlarged by Nicene phrases, but contrariwise, C was N enlarged by phrases taken from other sources, one of them probably being the local Creed of Constantinople. The only clause in these extracts that has any dogmatic importance is "of the Holy Ghost and Mary the virgin"; this might be intended to be anti-Apollinarian. So far the Nestorian excerpts agree with the Dialogue.

(*c*) *Flavian of Constantinople*

Flavian writing to Theodosius in 449 says: "Always following the Holy Scriptures and the expositions of the holy fathers gathered together at Nicaea and at Constantinople" (Mansi, VI. 541). Here Flavian attributes expositions to both Councils

and appears to place them on much the same level of authority; that is, the Constantinopolitan tradition was that the Council of 381 made an exposition of the Creed. This is reconcilable with the *Dialogue* if we suppose that what they did was to add phrases to N, and among them we should include "of the Holy Ghost and Mary the virgin".

(*d*) *The Council of Chalcedon*

The First Session. In this session at the reading of the *Acta* of the Council of Ephesus of 449 (the Latrocinium) Eutyches was represented as endeavouring to cover himself for refusing to go beyond the words of N by pleading the resolution of the earlier Council of Ephesus in 431. At this point Eusebius of Dorylaeum and Diogenes of Cyzicus interrupted. The decision of Ephesus, they said, was being strained; the resolution had no such intention; putting forward the Council of Nicaea was a mere pretence; the Creed had received additions from the holy fathers on account of the corruptions of Apollinarius, Valentinus, and Macedonius and others like them, and there had been added to it "Who came down and was incarnate of the Holy Ghost and Mary the virgin", and Eutyches only left them out because he was an Apollinarian. For the holy fathers who succeeded them (*οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα*) explained the "was incarnate" of the holy fathers at Nicaea by saying "of the Holy Ghost and Mary the virgin" (Mansi, VI. 632). Their plea, however, was not accepted by the Egyptian party who at once cried out (like Cyril of Alexandria) at any addition to N, adding that Eutyches had quoted correctly. That is, the Council of Constantinople added to the Creed of Nicaea "of the Holy Ghost and Mary the virgin" against the Apollinarians and some other phrase against the Macedonians. This confirms the earlier evidence.

At the close of the same session the imperial commissioners asserted that their master believed in accordance with the expositions of the 318 and of the 150 who succeeded them (*οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα*); and none of those present appears to have challenged the assertion that both Councils made expositions of the faith. This confirms the words of Flavian.

The Second Session. In this session was read first N (with the addition of πάλιν before ἐρχόμενον), and then C, the Creed of the 150. After hearing the former the bishops exclaimed "This is the faith of the orthodox; in this we all believe; with this we baptize; in this we were baptized. So let there be read what was set forth by the 150 fathers". And after the latter, "This is the faith for all, this is the faith of the orthodox; this we all believe" (Mansi, VI. 956–958).

The Fifth Session. Aetius the Archdeacon read the doctrinal formula drawn up by the commission. After the opening statement there followed the recitation first of N[1] and then of C. The formula continues: "The present holy, great, and ecumenical synod decrees that the faith of the 318 fathers shall remain inviolate, and on account of the Pneumatomachi it confirms the doctrine subsequently delivered concerning the substance of the Spirit by the 150 holy fathers who assembled in the imperial city, in order to express by written documents their faith concerning the Holy Ghost" (H. p. 28). Probably to this session also belongs the *Allocutio* addressed to the Emperor Marcian. Here it is stated that the orthodox faith in the Holy Ghost is already expressed (in N), but on account of the Pneumatomachi the fathers (in Constantinople) added "the Holy Ghost is Lord and God, proceeding from the Father" (ἐπειδήπερ ἁπλῆν ἡ πίστις τηνικαῦτα τοῦ Πνεύματος τὴν διδασκαλίαν ἐξέθετο, οὐδενὸς οὔπω περὶ Αὐτοῦ προσερίζοντος (cp. the language of the Pseudo-Athanasian Dialogue), οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα (an all but technical phrase) τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπερασπίζοντες... Κύριον Αὐτό, καὶ Θεόν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἔχον τὴν ἐκπόρευσιν, κατὰ τὴν τῆς πίστεως διάνοιαν ἀποφαίνοντες). The language of the Council of Chalcedon is not quite exact, but we gather that the Council of Constantinople added to N Κύριον, some word asserting the deity of the Holy Spirit, and ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον.

1 Heurtley, p. 25, here gives a corrupt text with little manuscript support.

(*e*) *Nicephorus Callistus*[1]

Nicephorus Callistus[1] (*H.E.* XII. 13) states that the Council added to N an assertion of the equality of honour and identity of glory of the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son, and entrusted the selection of the additional language to Gregory of Nyssa, *καὶ τὴν τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος δόξαν, ὡς ἰσότιμον καὶ ὁμόδοξον τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ τῷ συμβόλῳ τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ πίστεως προσετίθεσαν, τοῦ Νύσσης Γρηγορίου τὸ λεῖπον τῷ ἱερῷ συμβόλῳ ἀναπληρώσαντος*, a description which would exactly suit the clause *τὸ σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον*.[2]

But if the Council added clauses to N against the Apollinarians and Macedonians, they probably did the same thing against the Marcellians, and this clause could only be "of whose kingdom there shall be no end", which is scriptural, and occurs in the letter of Marcellus to Pope Julius, and in the Creeds of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, Armenia, and Epiphanius.

So far, therefore, we have evidence that the Council of Constantinople added to N the dogmatic clauses:

"Of the Holy Ghost and Mary the virgin,"

(probably) "Of whose kingdom there shall be no end",

"Lord, who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified",

but coupled with this we have the assertion that they also added "God" in relation to the Holy Spirit.

This assertion would be damaging but for the fact that Gregory Nazianzen makes it clear in his Theological Orations that he himself was in favour of this addition, but that there was a strong "scripturalist" party in Constantinople who were opposed to it, and in some rather enigmatic verses he shows

1 A very late writer (A.D. 1333) who, however, says that he collected most of his material from the Library of S. Sophia.

2 Cp. the language of the letter of the Council of 382: *Ἡμᾶς πιστεύειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Π. καὶ τοῦ Υ. καὶ τοῦ Ἁ. Π., δηλαδὴ θεότητος καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ οὐσίας μιᾶς τοῦ Π. καὶ τοῦ Υ. καὶ τοῦ Ἁ. Π. πιστευομένης, ὁμοτίμου τε τῆς ἀξίας καὶ συναϊδίου τῆς βασιλείας.*

that he wrestled hard for its insertion at the Council, but was overruled.[1]

But if against the Macedonians the Council added "Lord" which, while it had a high significance, could also be used in a much lower sense, and abstained from saying "God", then they would have required some other title to imply, if not to assert, the deity of the Holy Spirit, and this could hardly be other than "Giver of Life", which was both scriptural, had already a place in baptismal Creeds, would be allowed to denote a characteristically divine function, and is frequent in the works of Gregory of Nyssa. It would seem highly probable, therefore, that they added to N "Lord, and Giver of Life, who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified".

Here the Council might have stopped, for on questions not raised at the Council of Nicaea they had added the needed safeguards against heresy.

(2) The Baptism of Nectarius

But a new situation was created by the withdrawal of Gregory Nazianzen, and the election of Nectarius, who was not yet baptized. Nectarius would necessarily be required to assent to the Nicene Creed as thus enlarged against heresies which were rife in the immediate neighbourhood of Constantinople. But he had also to be instructed in and to profess the faith as set forth in his baptismal Creed. This would no doubt be the Creed of the diocese as it stood before the Council took place. Accordingly there were two possible alternatives: (1) that he should make his baptismal profession and then assent to the Nicene Creed as enlarged by the Council, or (2) that they should be combined together and that he should be instructed in this conflate Creed. For this combination there was abundance of precedents, that is, baptismal Creeds had been in many places combined with N, and it was also far the simpler alternative.

Now if we take C and abstract from it N plus these conciliar enlargements, every single phrase except "who with the Father

1 The relevant texts are quoted at the end of this chapter.

and the Son together is worshipped and glorified" can be found in Creeds connected with Antioch, and therefore may well have existed in the local Creed of Constantinople. But further. The two phrases "of the substance of the Father" and "God of God", which were in N but are omitted in C, were both also omitted in the Creed of Antioch when it was enlarged from N.

An analysis of C making this point clear is given at the end of this chapter.

(3) The Letter of the Council of 382

The likelihood of this reconstruction of history is strongly confirmed by what would appear far the most probable meaning of a passage in Theodoret (*H.E.* v. 9). Theodoret here quotes the letter sent by the Council of 382 to Pope Damasus and others. After recounting various persecutions which they had suffered, it continues: "For we...have undergone all for the sake of the evangelical faith ratified by the 318 fathers at Nicaea in Bithynia". It then describes what the Nicene Creed teaches and how it is sufficient against all sorts of heretics, Sabellians, Eunomians, Arians, and Macedonians. Then comes this statement:

> Let this suffice for a summary of the doctrine which is fearlessly and frankly preached by us, and about which you will be able to be still further satisfied if you will deign to read the report of the synod of Antioch (ὁ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τόμος), and also that issued last year by the ecumenical council held at Constantinople in which we set forth our confession of faith at greater length (ἐν οἷς πλατύτερον τὴν πίστιν ὡμολογήσαμεν) and appended a written anathema against the heresies which have been recently innovated.

The "Tome of the Antiochenes" was the synodical letter of the hundred and fifty-three Eastern bishops presided over by Meletius—who signed first and called himself Bishop of Antioch—sent to Pope Damasus in 379 accompanying the documents sent by Councils held in Rome in 371, 374 and 376 or 377, to all the dogmatic requirements of which these Eastern bishops signified their assent. In reply Damasus in 380 sent a synodical letter to Paulinus, the rival Bishop of

Antioch, containing twenty-four anathemas, of which the ninth was directed against bishops who change their sees, undoubtedly a hit at Meletius.

The last phrase seems to refer to the first canon of Constantinople. "This canon is part of a 'Tome' or doctrinal formulary which...had been drawn up by the Council of Constantinople, properly so-called, in 381." It

> begins by ordering that "the πίστις of the 318 fathers who assembled at Nicaea in Bithynia shall not be set aside, but remain in force (κυρίαν)". By πίστις is here meant belief as formulated in a document; in other words a confession of faith, or a creed....But here a question arises. The Council of Chalcedon ascribes to this Council of Constantinople, under the name of "the 150 fathers" (Mansi, VII. 109), that recension of the Nicene Creed which has practically superseded the original form....We may suppose that the members of the Council of A.D. 381 would not consider themselves to be invalidating, but rather confirming and perpetuating the formula of A.D. 325, if they adopted, with hardly any change, a development of it.[1]

The point to be decided is whether πίστις in the phrase πλατύτερον τὴν πίστιν ὡμολογήσαμεν means a Creed as it does in the canon Μὴ ἀθετεῖσθαι τὴν πίστιν τῶν πατέρων τῶν τριακοσίων δεκαοκτὼ τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ τῆς Βιθυνίας κατελθόντων.

If it does, and this seems more natural than to suppose that it means some other doctrinal exposition similar to that made at the Council of Chalcedon, it is absolutely fatal to Dr Hort's hypothesis. The Council could not have told Damasus that he would find their orthodoxy clearly set forth in a Creed made by Cyril of Jerusalem, whom Rome regarded as both personally tainted by Arianism and as having been invalidly consecrated by heretics, a Creed moreover which omitted two anti-Arian phrases "of the substance of the Father" and "God from God". Nor would the mere fact, if it were a fact, that Cyril had been the instructor of Nectarius justify the Council in saying "*we* have confessed the faith at greater length". But it is perfectly consonant with our hypothesis that the Council first added certain anti-heretical phrases to the Creed of Nicaea; that under

1 Bright, *Canons of the First Four General Councils*, pp. 90, 91.

its sanction this enlarged Creed was combined with the local Creed of Constantinople for the baptism of Nectarius; and that in the course of this amalgamation, following the precedent set by Meletius at Antioch, three phrases were dropped, the first as being merely explanatory of "of one substance with the Father", the second as already contained in "true God from true God", while the third phrase "visible and invisible" was abandoned as having been employed by the Macedonians to show that the Holy Spirit was "made through the Son".

(4) The Non-Recognition of C

Supposing C to have had the weight of authority attributed to it by the Council of Chalcedon, how are we to account for the almost complete ignoring of it in the interval between 381 and 451? In part this was due to the failure to recognize the work of the Council as a whole, which in the West was regarded merely as a local synod of minor importance, except so far as its canons might interfere with the ecclesiastical arrangements approved by Rome, when non-recognition was deepened into opposition. The Creed would of course obtain a similar disfavour.

Much the same would also be the attitude of the Patriarchate of Alexandria. The condemnation of the Alexandrian nominee, Maximus the Cynic, by the Council of 381 was a heavy blow to its prestige. "Alexandria, as the chief see of the Eastern world, from the first asserted a jurisdiction which she has never formally relinquished over the see of Constantinople, more particularly in a vacancy in the episcopate" (Neale, *Patr. of Alexandria*, I. 206).

"The conduct of Peter, the successor of Athanasius, first in instituting Gregory of Nazianzus bishop of Constantinople by his letters, and sending a formal recognition of his appointment, and then in substituting Maximus...furnishes unmistakable indications of the desire to erect an Oriental papacy, by establishing the primacy of Alexandria over Constantinople and so over the East, which was still further illustrated a few years later

by the high-handed behaviour of Theophilus towards Chrysostom."[1]

In addition, Alexandria inherited the Athanasian tradition as to the danger of altering the Nicene Creed. The Council of Alexandria in 362, though it dealt with the Apollinarian and Macedonian heresies, yet kept the Nicene Creed intact, and condemned these heresies only in its canons; and its letter sent to Antioch, the *Tomus ad Antiochenos*, repudiated with emphatic warmth the idea that the Nicene Creed had been revised at the Council of Sardica.

Accordingly, wherever the Church of Alexandria could exercise any influence, the work of the Council of Constantinople would be ignored or opposed, and in consequence we should not expect to find C recognized at the Council of Ephesus in 431, or at the Latrocinium in 449. But this may not be the whole truth. The discovery of "The Bazaar" or "The Treatise of Heracleides", while it may not be sufficient to clear Nestorius, throws an ugly light on the character of Cyril, and strengthens the suggestion which his conduct at the Council might seem to warrant, that he was instigated not only by zeal for orthodoxy, but also by personal ambition and local jealousy, and in consequence the ὅρος, not strictly a canon but a determination, as Dioscurus said at Chalcedon, which was passed on the occasion of the petition of Charisius of Philadelphia, that "no one should be allowed to present, or write, or compose ἑτέραν πίστιν than that which was definitely framed by the holy fathers at Nicaea", might well be intended as a repudiation of C; for, as Dr Bright shows,[2] ἑτέρα πίστις means any other Creed than the Nicene and not merely a Creed inconsistent with it.

It is true that this interpretation of the meaning of the ὅρος was repudiated at Chalcedon by Diogenes and Eusebius; nevertheless, it may well be that this was its original intention, as was asserted by Dioscurus, and suggested by the Egyptian archimandrites in the fourth session.

The work of the Council as a whole would also be disregarded by all the heretical communities with which it was concerned,—

1 Venables, *D.C.B.* III. 878. 2 *Councils*, p. 133.

by Arians, Apollinarians, including Eutychians, Macedonians and Marcellians. And in the face of the well-known letter of Gregory Nazianzen to Procopius (*Ep.* 55), a letter written after the Council of 381, when he was still smarting under the treatment he had then received, we cannot expect that the Council would be held in honour in any place to which his influence extended.

Lastly, as regards the silence of the Church historians, the whole work of the Council in relation to Creeds and canons is summed up by Socrates (*H.E.* v. vii.) in a few lines, and though Sozomen's account (VIII. ix.) is rather longer, it is not unfair to apply to both the words used by Dr Hort (*Two Dissertations*, pp. 105, 106) to cover the absence of any notice of the action of Cyril: "The records of the Council are too slight to cause surprise at their silence on this point", while, as we have seen, Nicephorus Callistus says quite definitely that the Nicene Creed was enlarged by the Council, and attributes the bulk of the added words on the Holy Spirit to Gregory of Nyssa.

Thus the "argument from silence" is too weak to be stressed; rather we should ask how it came about that the Church of Alexandria ever consented to the arrangements made at the Council of Constantinople. And this question admits of an easy answer. Alexandria was represented at the Council by only two delegates, Timothy the Patriarch and Dorotheus of Oxyrhynchus, and if they ventured to voice their disapprobation it could be disregarded, or, if necessary, the sixth canon of the Council of Nicaea could be invoked to cover the neglect of it as factious.

(5) The Tome of Leo

Leo's Tome was written in 448 and was intended to be read at the Council of Ephesus, the Latrocinium. It did not then get a hearing, but was first read in the second session of the Council of Chalcedon in 451. It contains two passages with regard to the Creed:

Nesciens igitur (Eutyches) quid deberet de Verbi Dei incarnatione sentire, nec volens ad promerendum intelligentiae lumen in sanctarum

scripturarum latitudine laborare, illam saltem communem et indiscretam confessionem sollicite recepisset auditu, qua fidelium universitas profitetur, Credere se in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, et in Jesum Christum, Filium Ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum, qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto et Maria virgine (ch. ii).

Unde unigenitum Filium Dei crucifixum et sepultum omnes etiam in symbolo confitemur (ch. v).

We are not here primarily concerned with the question as to what Creed it was from which Leo was quoting, but with the impression produced; i.e. with the question, from what Creed he would have been thought by the assembled fathers to be quoting.

Leo's first statement is that Eutyches ought to have acknowledged the authority of scripture, "propheticae voces, apostolicae litterae, evangelicae auctoritates". But a knowledge of scripture could not be expected from one who did not comprehend the beginning of the Creed, "Et quod per totum mundum omnium regenerandorum voce depromitur, istius adhuc senis corde non capitur" (ch. i).

The appeal to scripture is clear and does not now concern us, but the question arises, What form of Creed would the fathers of Chalcedon think Eutyches ought to have acknowledged as authoritative?

The question admits of a double answer. The Egyptians asserted that among Creeds N was the sole text of orthodoxy, and it was as judged by this standard that Eutyches had claimed, and by the Latrocinium had been allowed, to be orthodox.

But it is equally clear that Leo was not quoting from N, and in demanding that Eutyches should acknowledge as authoritative *Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto et Maria virgine*, he was endeavouring to enforce on a member of the Church of Constantinople a Creed which the Egyptian bishops did not accept.

The question we are discussing is not settled by saying that these words were in the Roman baptismal Creed. That was purely Western, and did not run, in the sense of being an authorized form, in the East.

But if the Eastern Church had authorized a Creed including these words which Egypt had accepted under pressure at the

time, but afterwards ignored in deference to a strong sentiment and tradition, the whole situation is explained. Let us grant that Leo was quoting from R, still the words would at once suggest to Easterns the more familiar formula. Nor to Eastern ears would any other interpretation appear possible of "illam saltem communem et indiscretam confessionem, qua fidelium universitas profitetur..." and "omnes...confitemur". Such language, if it had reference not solely to the common faith but to its expression in words, could not to them mean a Western baptismal Creed; it must mean N, either in its original or in its enlarged form. Nor would they admit that Eutyches should be judged by a Western symbol.

Thus the Constantinopolitans would rejoice in Leo's apparent acceptance of the dogmatic work of the Council of 381—Leo had acknowledged C as authoritative; while on the other hand the Egyptians would be confounded—Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, were all against them.

Such a blow could not have been without effect on the proceedings of the Egyptian party. Nor was it. The opposition to the sentiment of the majority, which they had manifested in the earlier stages of the Council, died down, killed, as it appears, by Leo's Tome, and in the end N and C were accepted as authoritative with no dissentient voice.

(6) Summary

The dialogue of pseudo-Athanasius shows that before the time of Nestorius there was a common consent both of the orthodox and the Macedonians that additions had been made by the Council of 381; and by repeated allusions, notably at the Council of Chalcedon, we see that this was the Constantinopolitan tradition. If, as seems more probable, we should translate πίστις as meaning "Creed" in the letter of the Council of 382, ἐν οἷς—that is, in the Tome of the Antiochenes taken with the Tome of the Council of 381—πλατύτερον τὴν πίστιν ὡμολογήσαμεν, then we have a definite, early, and authoritative declaration that the Council expressed its faith in a Creed somewhat longer than that of Nicaea, to which reference had already

been made. Besides Arianism, which was now on the wane in Asia Minor, the Council had to deal with Apollinarianism, Macedonianism, and Marcellianism. As regards the last, if they added new clauses to N, as they seem to have done, and as Damasus did at Rome with regard to the Holy Spirit, the addition could only have been "of whose kingdom there shall be no end". Against Apollinarianism we have the repeated assertion that they added "of the Holy Ghost and Mary the virgin", while, as regards Macedonianism, we are told that they added "Lord", and "proceedeth from the Father", and Nicephorus Callistus states that the new matter in this article was composed by Gregory of Nyssa to assert the equality of honour and unity of glory of the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son. These phrases would collectively cover all, or nearly all, the dogmatic additions in which C differs from N, and here the work of the Council might have stopped had the Emperor's nominee, Nectarius, been already baptized. He would naturally have been instructed on the basis of the Creed of the church which he was to govern, but he would also have to subscribe to the Nicene Creed as recently enlarged. Accordingly, what seems to have been done was to combine these two Creeds together. The analysis of C shows that apart from these clauses, it is wholly Nicene or Antiochene, and the local Creed of Constantinople was doubtless derived from Antioch.

Against this theory is the occurrence of C in the Ancoratus of Epiphanius. But first, these later chapters may have been added after 381, and secondly, the evidence is simply overwhelming that the text of Epiphanius originally read not C but N, the Creed of the Council of Nicaea. Alternative is the hypothesis of Dr Hort. But this fails to account for the reported attribution of C to the Council of Constantinople; it is incredible that the Council of 382 should have referred Damasus of Rome to the Creed of Cyril of Jerusalem as a demonstration of their own orthodoxy; and the analysis of C shows that in that case Cyril must have done more than Dr Hort supposes; he must have entirely re-written the concluding portion of his Creed, with no apparent motive, and in violation of the feelings of his

flock, at a time when his own position was not secure. Moreover, the one strong point that Dr Hort appears to have, namely, that the first six clauses of C are identical with the corresponding clauses in Cyril's Creed, is balanced by the long Nicene insertion, and can be accounted for equally well if, as is not improbable, the local Creed of Constantinople contained the two clauses "Maker of heaven and earth" and "before all ages", both of which occur in Creeds of Antiochene affinities.

Finally, we have to deal with the quotations read at the Council of Chalcedon from Leo's Tome. There can be no doubt that Leo was actually citing the baptismal Creed of Rome, but it is at least highly probable that he was understood by the Egyptian party to be quoting from C. The words used, "in God the Father Almighty, and in Jesus Christ His only Son our Lord, who was born of the Holy Spirit and Mary the virgin", and "crucified and buried", are sufficiently close to those of C to be assumed to be an allusion to it; "that general and uniform confession in which the whole body of the Church expresses its belief" would naturally be taken as referring to the Nicene Creed, either in original or in its enlarged form; and Leo, it would be thought, would not put forth a claim that Eutyches should be judged by the standard of a western symbol. And the collapse of the Egyptian opposition after the acceptance of the Tome by the Council, shows that this was the interpretation they put upon it. Constantinople, Antioch and Rome were all agreed against them in the acceptance of C as an authoritative enlargement of N made by the Council of Constantinople in 381.

NOTES

A. *The Statements of Nestorius*

The language of Nestorius is in any event remarkable, but it implies that C was regarded as simply an enlarged form of N, and therefore based on it and not on the Creed of Jerusalem. The comparison of the longer Creed of Epiphanius, the Creed of Jerome, and C, with N has already been made[1] and is instructive. But this language has a curious parallel.

1 Pp. 97, 99.

According to Palladius's *Dialogus de vita S. Joannis Chrysostomi*, Theophilus wrote to Chrysostom that he supposed he "was not ignorant of the ordinance of the Nicene canons decreeing that a bishop should not act as a judge beyond his jurisdiction" (*ὑπερόριον μὴ κρίνειν δίκην*); while at a later point the bishops who supported Chrysostom retorted the same canon on Theophilus and the Synod of the Oak, "you are violating the canon of the 318 bishops at Nicaea and judging a case beyond your jurisdiction" (*ὑπερόριον δικάζεις δίκην*). On this Professor Turner writes:[1] "In each case the technical word *ὑπερόριος* is employed, and it is difficult to resist the conviction that it is derived from the canon to which allusion is being made. Now not only does the word not appear in the canons of Nicaea, but even the underlying thought can only by rather forced inference be found in them....Where then did Theophilus and Chrysostom find the prohibition of the *ὑπερόριος δίκη* to which they both refer? The answer can, I think, only be, from the second canon of Constantinople in 381".

Here, then, we seem to have a parallel to (1) the confusion of the Canons of Sardica with those of Nicaea by the successive Popes of Rome, and (2) the misnaming of the Constantinopolitan Creed as Nicene by Nestorius.

B. *Analysis of the Longer Creed of Epiphanius* (L. p. 27; H. pp. 16–18)

In the parallels Ant. = Creed of Antioch (L. p. 18); 1, 2, 3, 4, Synods of Antioch (L. pp. 22–26); *A.C.* = *Apostolic Constitutions* (L. p. 19; H. pp. 10, 11); Arm. = Armenian (Hort, pp. 146, 147); Aux. = Auxentius; Bas. = Basil; Nest. = Nestorian (L. pp. 19, 20); Phil. = Philadelphia (Hort, p. 153).

N *Πιστεύομεν...πάντων ἀοράτων τε καὶ ὁρατῶν*	variant of N *ὁρατῶν τε κ. ἀ.*
N *ποιητήν...ἐν τῇ γῇ ὁρατά τε καὶ ἀόρατα,*	(Cypriote addition, cp. *A.C.*; 1; 4; Arm.; Aux.; Bas.; Nest.)
N *τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς...σαρκωθέντα,*	*τουτέστι γεννηθέντα τελείως ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας Μαρίας τῆς ἀειπαρθένου διὰ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου* (catechetical expansion not intended to be recited)
N *ἐνανθρωπήσαντα,*	*τουτέστ...βασιλεύς*, cat. expansion
N *παθόντα,*	*δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν σαρκί*, cat. expansion
N *καὶ ἀναστάντα,*	
N *καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς, (ἐνδόξως)*[2] *καθίσαντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Π.*	*ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ σώματι*, cat. expansion (Cypriote addition, cp. *A.C.*; 1, 2, 3, 4; Arm.; Aux.; Bas.; Nest.)

1 *J.T.S.* III. p. 395.

2 Ἐνδόξως may be part of the Creed or a catechetical expansion; possibly it should be read with the previous clause, cf. *Pan.* III. ii. 17.

N ἐρχόμενον...νεκρούς, οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος,	ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ σώματι ἐν δόξῃ, cat. exp. (Cypriote addition, cp. *A.C.*; Arm.; 1, 3, 4)
N καὶ εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα	πιστεύομεν, τὸ λαλῆσαν...πιστευόμενον, catechetical expansion

Cypriote additions:

(Πιστεύομεν) εἰς μίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν·	(cp. *A.C.*; Nest.)
καὶ εἰς ἓν βάπτισμα μετανοίας·	(cp. Arm.)
καὶ εἰς ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν·	(cp. Ant.; Phil.)
καὶ κρίσιν δικαίων ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων·	(cp. Arm.)
καὶ εἰς βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν·	(cp. *A.C.*; Arm. and the Creed of Arius)
καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.	(cp. Ant.; 1; Arm.; Nest.; Phil.)

What Epiphanius has done is clear; he has started with N and its anathemas before him; he has added to N (*a*) certain catechetical enlargements—the clauses beginning τουτέστι are obviously of this kind, and this explanation will cover all the minor additions—and (*b*) certain clauses in which he considered N insufficient, at any rate for baptismal purposes. These clauses can all be paralleled from Antiochene sources, and we may therefore assume that they were drawn from the baptismal Creed of his own diocese.

Having ended the Creed he comes to the Nicene anathemas, and these he expands by adding two clauses dealing with the Holy Spirit (L. p. 18). "The Son or the Holy Spirit", and "or the Holy Spirit", and, at the end, "our mother and yours. And again we anathematize those who do not confess the resurrection of the dead, and all the heresies which are not of this right faith." We need not suppose that these Cypriote anathemas any more than the previous expansions were to be recited by the catechumens. This is, then, the Salaminian Creed to be learnt by all candidates for baptism, and "delivered" to their bishop (L. p. 17 top).

Two points in it at once impress themselves upon our notice: (1) that Epiphanius is so devotedly a Nicene that he has not contented himself with expanding his own Creed with clauses taken from N, but has substituted N wherever there was a difference in wording, that is, he has taken N as his basis for the enlarged Creed; and (2) that either he did not know C, the Constantinopolitan Creed, at all, or that he held it in so little esteem that he has made no use of it. The only clause in his Creed that might have been taken from C is, "of whose kingdom there shall be no end", and this might very well have been already in the Creed of Salamis, since it is in the Creeds of the *Apostolic Constitutions* and Armenia. On the other hand, where C might have served his purpose equally well, he has taken no account of it, even in the catechetical expansions.

C	Epiphanius
ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου	ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας Μαρίας τῆς ἀειπαρθένου διὰ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου
καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρός,	(ἐνδόξως) καθίσαντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τ. Π.
καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης	ἐρχόμενον ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ σώματι ἐν δόξῃ
τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν.	τὸ λ. ἐν νόμῳ καὶ κηρύξαν ἐν τοῖς π.
Εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθ. καὶ ἀπ. ἐκκλησίαν.	Πιστεύομεν εἰς μ. καθ. καὶ ἀπ. ἐκ. (omitting ἁγίαν)
Ὁμολογοῦμεν ἓν βαπτ. εἰς ἀφ. ἁμ.	καὶ εἰς ἓν βάπτισμα μετανοίας
Προσδοκῶμεν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν,	καὶ εἰς ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν
καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος.	καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

C. *Analysis of C*

C.C. = Council of Constantinople. Brackets indicate similarity; absence of brackets identity. Phrases quoted as inserted are underlined.

N Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεόν, Πατέρα παντοκράτορα,	
ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς·	Gen. 1. 1. Arm.; Niceta; Mai.
(N) ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων·	(Ant.); (Arm.); (Nest.); (Phil.)
N καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν,	
N τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ,	Nest.; (Ancyra); (Ant.); (Phil.)
(N) τὸν μονογενῆ,	
(N) τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων,	*A.C.*; Arm.; Nest.; Phil.
N φῶς ἐκ φωτός, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ,	
N γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο,	
N τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα	
ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν,	*A.C.*; Arm.; Nest.; Phil.
N καὶ σαρκωθέντα	
ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου,	C.C.; Ancyra (Arm.); (Nest.) (*A.C.*); (Ant.); (Phil.)
N καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα,	
σταυρωθέντα τε	*A.C.*; Ancyra; Ant.; Arm.; Nest. Phil.
ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν	(*A.C.*)
ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου,	*A.C.*; Ancyra; Ant.; Arm.; Nest.
N καὶ παθόντα,	
καὶ ταφέντα,	Ancyra; Ant.; Arm.; Nest.
N καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὰς γραφάς,	Ant.; Nest.
N καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς,	
καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρός,	(*A.C.*); (Ancyra); (Arm.); (Nest.)
(N?) καὶ πάλιν	Council of Chalcedon; Ant.; Nest.; Phil.
N ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης	*A.C.*; (Arm.)

N	κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς,	
	οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος,	*A.C.*; Arm.; Epiph.
(N)	καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον,	*A.C.*; Arm.; (Ancyra)
	τὸ Κύριον,	C.C.
	καὶ τὸ ζωοποιόν,	Nest.
	τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον,	C.C.; Nest.
	τὸ σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον,	Gregory of Nyssa (?)
	τὸ λαλῆσαν	Arm.; Epiph.
	διὰ τῶν προφητῶν·	(Arm.); (Epiph.)
	καὶ εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν, καθολικήν, καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν,	(*A.C.*); (Arm.); (Epiph.); (Nest.)
	Ὁμολογοῦμεν ἓν βάπτισμα	Nest.
	εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν·	*A.C.*; Arm.
	Προσδοκῶμεν	
	ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν·	Arm.; Nest.; Phil.; (Ant.)
	καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος.	*A.C.*

Πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων, ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, σταυρωθέντα, ταφέντα are quoted in the sermons of Nestorius; ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, Κύριον, ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς πορευόμενον are said in the Council of Chalcedon to have been inserted at the Council of Constantinople; καὶ πάλιν is quoted as part of N in the second session of the Council of Chalcedon; ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρός, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ were in N, but were not adopted in the enlarged Creed of Antioch; ὁρατὰ καὶ ἀόρατα after δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο may well have been omitted, since the Macedonians may have misused the phrase as showing that the Holy Spirit was created through the Son; τὸ ζωοποιόν is in the Nestorian as well as other Creeds, and may well have been added to Κύριον to imply the deity of the Holy Spirit (cp. Rom. iv. 17), and τὸ . . . συνδοξαζόμενον is hinted at by Nicephorus Callistus as part of the addition made by Gregory of Nyssa. But the strange feature is that, but for this last phrase and the unimportant word προσδοκῶμεν, which cannot be traced earlier, though it is probably taken over from some baptismal Creed, every word of the additions can be found in Creeds connected with Antioch, and may therefore have already existed in the baptismal Creed of Constantinople.

D. *The Statements of Gregory Nazianzen*

Theological Oration V, delivered in Constantinople in one of the three years 379–381 and probably in 380:

Ch. 3. They, then, who are angry with us on the ground that we are bringing in a strange and interpolated God, namely the Holy Spirit, and who fight so hard for the letter, should know that they are afraid where no fear is; and I would have them clearly understand that their love for the letter is but a cloak for impiety. . . . But we have so much confidence in the Deity of the Spirit, whom we adore, that

we will begin our teaching concerning His Godhead by applying to Him the names which belong to the Trinity, even though some persons think us over bold.

Ch. 5. But of the wise men among ourselves, some have conceived of Him as an Activity, some as a Creature, some as God, and some have not known which, out of reverence for Scripture, as they say, as though Scripture did not make the matter clear either way. And so they neither worship nor dishonour Him, but take up a sort of mid-way position about Him or rather an altogether miserable one.

Ch. 6. The Holy Spirit...will be conceived of either as a creature or as God. For anything mid-way between these two, whether as having nothing in common with either, or as a compound of both, not even those who invented the goat-stag could imagine.

Ch. 10. What then? Is the Spirit God? Most certainly. Well then, is He consubstantial? Yes, if He is God.

Ch. 28. This, then, is my view with regard to these things, and may it ever be so, and that of anyone who is my friend, to worship God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit, three Persons, one Godhead, undivided in glory and honour and substance and kingdom.

Carmina, bk. II. xi. 1703:

And what again of this? That sweet and fair fount of the ancient faith that drew into one the august nature of the Trinity, of which Nicaea was once the school, this I beheld miserably befouled by the salt backwashes of the men of double minds who hold the opinions favoured by the State, the "mid-way" men forsooth, lucky if so they were, and not most plainly of the opposite calling.

1750. And some there were who hardly and constrained yet did agree, men who still retained some shred of freedom, to whom their ignorance of ill was spokesman, captured by the duplicity of the teaching and by the reverence of the "mid-way" creed, a child that favoured ill its parentage.

xiv. 25. If I abdicated my see, what worse than this? But if unwillingly I was thrust out, what do those deserve who dared so far? To-day I am installed, the next deposed. What plea, false though it be, can one find in excuse? O Christ, I am bold to utter somewhat of the thoughts of my heart. It is my strivings that they envy me, and the stones hurled at me. Perchance it is the Spirit that is stoned! Plainly I speak, the Spirit, hear ye, as being God, I say. To me Thou art God, thrice I shout it, God. There, that is it. Hurl your stones and aim them well; unshaken stands the target of the truth. The Father, we believe, is root and fount of good: of Him is the begotten Light, the Son and Word, the Seal of Him the unoriginate, and the Spirit, a timeless nature, God, my God, and God, a triple monad.

The Letter to Cledonius, Ch. 11:

I write...what you knew before, that I never have and never can prefer anything above the Nicene Faith, that of the Holy Fathers who met there to destroy the Arian heresy, but am, and by God's help ever will be, of that faith; completing in detail that which was incompletely said by them concerning the Holy Spirit; for that question had not then been mooted, namely that we are to believe that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are of one Godhead, thus confessing the Spirit to be God.

The Letter to Procopius, v.:

I am disposed to avoid all assemblies of bishops. For I never saw any good end to a Council nor any remedy for evils, but rather an addition of more evil, as its result. There are always contentions and strivings for domination beyond what words can describe.

Chapter XVI

THE LATER HISTORY OF THE NICENE CREED AND THE ENGLISH VERSION

I. The Later History

After the adoption of C as the baptismal Creed of Nectarius it gradually superseded other baptismal Creeds, first in the patriarchate of Constantinople, and then, after the Council of Chalcedon, throughout the East. The introduction of the Creed into the Eucharist was first made by Peter the Fuller, monophysite patriarch of Antioch (476–488). The example of Antioch appears to have been followed shortly afterwards by Alexandria, and in 511 Timothy, patriarch of Constantinople, another monophysite, ordered the regular use of the Creed in his church, where hitherto it was the custom to recite it only on Good Friday. Here "the faith of the 318" no doubt means N, but it is by no means certain that the text had not already been interpolated with some of the additional matter contained in C.

In 536 in the *Acta* of a Council of Constantinople under Mennas we find: "After the reading of the Gospel and when the holy creed (*μάθημα*) had been said according to the custom".

In 568 the Emperor Justin II ordered that in every catholic church the faith should be sung before the Lord's Prayer, and this was the fuller form C, but it would seem probable that the particular position which he assigned to it in the liturgy was not observed, for in Eastern rites it either precedes the kiss of peace, as in the Syrian, Egyptian and Nestorian liturgies, or follows it as in the liturgies of Constantinople and of the Greek Churches generally.

The first mention of the introduction of the Creed into the liturgy in the West is in a canon of the Council of Toledo in 589. The Council was summoned by Reccared king of the Visigoths, and was attended by John, Abbot of Biclarō, who had recently

returned from Constantinople, where he had resided for seventeen years. The canon orders that "for reverence of the most holy faith, and for the strengthening of the weak minds of men...through all the Churches of Spain and Galicia, following the form of the Oriental churches, the symbol of the faith of the Council of Constantinople...should be recited; so that before the Lord's Prayer be said, the creed be chanted with a clear voice by the people"; this has remained the position given to the Creed in the Mozarabic liturgy. The text used reintroduced "God from God" from the Creed of the Council of Nicaea, and omitted the word "holy" as an epithet of the Church, this omission being common to nearly all the Latin versions of C, except that sent by Pope Leo II to the Spanish churches after the Sixth Council (681).[1] It would seem, however, that it did not contain the clause "and the Son", these words being a later insertion of some copyist influenced by the anathema of the Council, "Whoever does not believe or has not believed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, let him be anathema".[2]

As regards the double procession, the Council of Toledo of 447 had adopted the canon: "The Father is unbegotten, the Son begotten, the Paraclete not begotten but proceeding from the Father and the Son". In this canon they appear to have followed the teaching of Augustine (*de Trin.* iv. 29), and Augustine followed the teaching of Ambrose in the Quicumque Vult.

The addition did not begin to attract notice until the end of the eighth century, when it was ventilated at the Council of Gentilly in 767, and some ambassadors of the Eastern Emperor Constantine Copronymus remonstrated against it. About the same time the clause appears in the Gelasian Sacramentary. When the proceedings of the Second Council of Nicaea in 787 were communicated to the West, exception was taken by Charlemagne to the phrase used by Tarasius, patriarch of Con-

1 On the Latin versions of N and C see Schwartz, *Z.N.W.* Bd. 25, pp. 33–88, 1926.

2 See Burn, *J.T.S.* IX. pp. 301–303, Jan. 1908.

stantinople, "I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of Life, who proceedeth from the Father through the Son", as not being in agreement with "the Nicene Creed", that is with the fuller form C with which alone he was probably acquainted, since C had superseded N. About the same time, and under his influence, the use of the Creed in the Liturgy was generally adopted by the Frankish Church. In 791 the clause was defended by Paulinus, Bishop of Aquileia, who presided at the Council of Friuli. Early in the ninth century some Latin monks, who had founded a convent on the Mount of Olives, were charged with heresy, chiefly on the ground that they said the interpolated Creed on Christmas Day. They appealed to Pope Leo III, stating that they were using the Creed as they had received it and as they had heard it sung in the Emperor's chapel, and urged that the clause was contained in "the Faith of St Athanasius". Leo communicated with the Emperor who summoned a Council at Aix in 809. The Council was unanimous in upholding the doctrine, but they felt that the interpolation of the Creed needed delicate handling, so they sent a deputation to the Pope, who was at one with them on the doctrinal question, but having received the Creed uninterpolated he objected to the addition. The delegation pointed out that to excise the term would suggest that the doctrine was condemned. Leo advised the disuse of the practice of singing the Creed, which was not sung at Rome, and he caused two silver shields to be inscribed with the true text in Greek and Latin, which he set up in St Peter's. But the Frankish Church continued to sing the Creed with the interpolations. The custom of singing the Creed was only adopted at Rome in 1014 by Benedict VIII, under pressure from the Emperor Henry II, and then it was sung in its interpolated form.

In the orthodox East the Constantinopolitan Creed is the only Creed used, and from the liturgy it has been introduced into the hour offices. In the Jacobite and Maronite Churches in Syria, and among the Nestorians, Armenians, and Abyssinians there still linger local Creeds combined with N.

In the Celtic Church the Stowe Missal, one of the earliest

remaining service books, probably written in the ninth century, gives the Creed in Latin almost exactly in the form used at the Council of Chalcedon, but the word *Filioque* has been added by a later hand.

II. The English Version

The English version differs from the original text: (1) in the use of the singular number "I believe" in place of the plural, in agreement with the general liturgical custom; (2) in the presence of the clause "and the Son" which as we have seen was uniform throughout the West; (3) in reading "I believe one...Church" without "in", instead of "in one...Church". This appears to have been a deliberate alteration on the part of Cranmer who made the translation. Rufinus and other Latin writers often drew this distinction between believing *in* Three Persons and believing about their work, and in his *Annotation* upon the King's Book, Cranmer writes, "I believe in the Holy Ghost, and that there is a Holy Catholic Church". (4) The omission of the word "holy" as an epithet of the Church appears no less deliberate.

The Latin Creed ordered to be recited by the Council of Toledo had, as we have seen, "In unam catholicam apostolicam ecclesiam", omitting "sanctam", and this form is general in the Latin MSS. of the proceedings at Chalcedon. The collections of Councils before Cranmer and his colleagues were probably those of Merlin first published in 1524 and republished in 1530 and 1535, which quotes the Creed three times and always without "sanctam"; of Peter Crabbe, 1538, who gives C according to different translations, one with "sanctam" but not "lumen de lumine", and the other without "sanctam" but with "lumen de lumine"; and of Carranza, 1546, which professes to have consulted the Greek copies and Leo, and omits "sanctam". And if the reformers referred to Greek liturgies, they would probably have found no more than the opening words, "I believe in one God".

The First Prayer Book of Edward VI omitted the clause "of

whose kingdom there shall be no end", but this was restored in the Book of 1552.

In general the reformers appear to have followed the most ancient Latin version known to the West, that of the Council of Toledo. Thus we say, "And I believe in the Holy Ghost", the Toletan version ran: "Credimus et in Spiritum Sanctum", but the Roman Missal does not here repeat the word "Credo"; and similarly the Toletan version ran: "Filium Dei unigenitum ex Patre natum", where the Roman Missal inserts *et* before "ex Patre natum".

The Roman Church is exceptional in allowing the omission of the Creed from the Eucharist except on Sundays and festivals. This was permitted by the First Prayer Book, but subsequent editions have reverted to the more catholic custom of regarding it as a regular part of the rite on the principle enunciated by St Thomas Aquinas (*Summa*, P. III, q. 83, art. 4): "When the Gospel has been read, the Creed is sung in which the people show that they give the assent of faith to the doctrine of Christ".

One further note should be added. The regular baptismal Creed in Rome from the end of the fourth century onwards was the Apostles' Creed, nor did the Roman missionaries who spread the Roman rite over Northern Europe ever take with them any other baptismal Creed. But before the extinction of the Byzantine power, the priest asked the acolyte who presented the candidates "In what language do they confess our Lord Jesus Christ?" and if the answer was "In Greek" the acolyte recited the "Nicene" Creed, that is, the Constantinopolitan Creed without the Filioque clause, in Greek, and later on in Latin. The dates of the beginning and ending of this practice are somewhat uncertain, but it does not appear to have been of long duration, and if the reply was "In Latin" the Apostles' Creed continued to be used.

PART III

THE *QUICUMQUE VULT* OR ATHANASIAN CREED

Chapter XVII

THE *QUICUMQUE VULT* OR ATHANASIAN CREED

I. Text and Translation. II. Its Composition. (1) Quotations and References: (*a*) From the Council of Toledo, (*b*) Council of Autun, (*c*) Avitus of Vienne, (*d*) Augustine; (2) The Letter of the Council of 382; (3) Theodosius, Ambrose, the Ordo Ambrosianus; (4) Parallels in Ambrose: (*a*) phrases, (*b*) points of style; (5) Faustinus, Philastrius, Honorius of Autun, Sicardus of Cremona, Rufinus; (6) The Letter of Ambrose to Valentinian. III. Its Name and Use. IV. The English Translation.

I. Text and Translation

Text from Turner, *J.T.S.* xi. pp. 407–411, 1910. The rhythmical endings of clauses are marked according to the system of accented prose known as the Cursus Leoninus (see Burn, *Introduction*, pp. 248–252, and *Niceta of Remesiana*, p. cix):

p, *cursus planus* ´ ˘ ˘ ´ ˘˘

t, *cursus tardus* ´ ˘ ˘ ´ ˘ ˘⌒

v, *cursus velox* ´ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ´ ˘˘

There is also a metrical ending, 4, ´ ˘ ˘ ˘ – ˘⌒, which at a late date passed into the *cursus*. This system began to come into use in the fourth century, and compositions in this style were eminently suitable for singing.

TEXT	TRANSLATION
1. Quicumque vult salvus esse: ante omnia opus est ut teneat cathólicam fídem (*p*);	Whosoever would be in a state of salvation, needeth above all things to hold fast the Catholic Faith;
2. quam nisi quis integram inviolatamque servaverit: absque dubio in aetérnum perfbit (*p*).	which Faith except a man preserve whole and inviolate, without doubt he will perish eternally.

TEXT	TRANSLATION
The Divine Tri-unity	
3. Fides autem catholica haec est: ut unum Deum in trinitate et Trinitatem in unitáte veneremur, (4)	And the Catholic Faith is this, that we worship (the) one God in trinity, and the Trinity in unity,
4. neque confundentes personas: neque substántiam separántes (*v*);	neither confusing the Persons, nor dividing the Substance;
5. alia est enim persona Patris, alia Filii: alia Spíritus Sáncti (*p*);[1]	for there is one Person of the Father, another of the Son, another of the Holy Ghost;
6. sed Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti una est divinitas: aequalis gloria, coaetérna majéstas (*p*).	but the Godhead of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost is one, the glory equal, the majesty coeternal.
Attributes of the Three Persons	
7. Qualis Pater, talis Filius: et talis Spíritus Sánctus (*p*);	Such as the Father is, such is the Son, and such is the Holy Ghost;
8. increatus Pater, increatus Filius: increatus Spíritus Sánctus (*p*);	The Father uncreate, the Son uncreate, the Holy Ghost uncreate;
9. immensus Pater, immensus Filius: immensus Spíritus Sánctus (*p*);	the Father immeasurable, the Son immeasurable, the Holy Ghost immeasurable;
10. aeternus Pater, aeternus Filius: aeternus Spíritus Sánctus (*p*);	the Father eternal, the Son eternal, the Holy Ghost eternal;
11. et tamen non tres aeterni: sed únus aetérnus (*p*);	and yet there are not three eternals, but one eternal;
12. sicut non tres increati, nec tres immensi: sed unus immensus et únus increátus (4).	as also there are not three uncreated nor three immeasurables, but one immeasurable and one uncreated.
13. Similiter omnipotens Pater, omnipotens Filius: omnipotens Spíritus Sánctus (*p*);	So, likewise, the Father is almighty, the Son almighty, the Holy Ghost almighty;
14. et tamen non tres omnipotentes: sed únus omnípotens (*t*).	and yet there are not three almighties, but one almighty.
The Acknowledgement of the Trinity	
15. Ita Deus Pater, Deus Filius: Deus Spíritus Sánctus (*p*);	So the Father is God, the Son is God, the Holy Ghost is God;

1 Alia persona Filii, alia persona Spiritus Sancti, Bobbio MS. (Milan, Amb. O. 212 Sup.).

TEXT	TRANSLATION
16. et tamen non tres dii: sed unus Deus;[1]	and yet there are not three gods, but one God.
17. Ita Dominus Pater, Dominus Filius: Dominus Spíritus Sánctus (*p*);	So the Father is Lord, the Son Lord, the Holy Ghost Lord;
18. et tamen non tres domini: sed unus Dominus.[1]	and yet there are not three lords, but one Lord.
19. Quia sicut singillatim unamquamque Personam et Deum et Dominum confiteri: christiana veritáte compéllimur (*v*),	For like as we are compelled by the Christian truth to confess severally each Person to be both God and Lord,
20. ita tres deos aut tres dominos dicere: catholica religióne prohibémur (4).	so are we forbidden by the Catholic Religion to speak of three gods or three lords.

Divine Relationships

21. Pater a nullo est factus: nec creatus nec génitus (*t*);	The Father is made by none nor created nor begotten;
22. Filius a Patre solo est: non factus nec creátus, sed génitus (*t*);	the Son is from the Father alone, not made nor created, but begotten;
23. Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio: non factus nec creatus nec génitus, sed procédens (*v*).	the Holy Ghost is from the Father and the Son, not made nor created nor begotten, but proceeding.
24. Unus ergo Pater, non tres patres; unus Filius, non tres filii: unus Spiritus Sanctus non tres spíritus sáncti (*p*).	So there is one Father, not three fathers, one Son, not three sons, one Holy Ghost, not three holy ghosts.
25. In hac Trinitate nihil prius aut posterius: nihil majus aut minus,	In this Trinity there is no before or after, no greater or less,
26. sed totae tres Personae coaeternae sibi sunt: ét coaequáles (*p*).	but all the three Persons are coeternal with each other and coequal.
27. Ita ut per omnia, sicut jam supra dictum est: et Trinitas in Unitate et Unitas in Trinitate veneranda sit.	So that every way, as is aforesaid, both a Trinity is to be worshipped in the Unity, and an Unity in the Trinity.
28. Qui vult ergo salvus esse: ita de Trinitate sentiat.	He therefore that would be in a state of salvation, let him thus think of the Trinity.

The Incarnation

29. Sed necessarium est ad aeternam salutem: ut incarnationem quoque Domini nostri Jesu Christi fidéliter crédat (*p*).	But it is necessary to eternal salvation that he believe faithfully also the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.

1 Burn reads, "únus est Déus" (*p*), and "únus est Dóminus" (*t*) ín 18, giving a better rhythm.

TEXT	TRANSLATION
30. Est ergo fides recta ut credamus et confiteamur: quia Dominus noster Jesus Christus, Dei Filius, et Deus páriter et hómo est (4);	So then the right faith is that we believe and confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is at once God and man.

Christ in Two Natures

31. Deus est, ex substantia Patris ante saecula genitus: et homo ex substantia matris in saéculo nátus (*p*);	He is God, of the Substance of the Father, begotten before the worlds, and man, of the substance of His mother, born in the world;
32. perfectus Deus: perfectus homo ex anima rationabili et humana cárne subsístens (*p*);	completely God; completely man consisting of rational soul and human flesh;
33. aequalis Patri secundum deitatem: minor Patre secúndum humanitátem (*v*);	equal to the Father in respect of His Godhead; less than the Father in respect of His manhood.

Christ one Person

34. Qui licet Deus sit et homo: non duo tamen sed únus est Chrístus (*p*);	Who, although He be God and man, yet is not two, but one Christ;
35. unus autem non conversione divinitatis in carne: sed adsumptione humanitátis in Déo (*p*);	one, however, not by the conversion of Godhead into flesh, but by the taking of manhood into God;
36. unus omnino, non confusione substantiae: sed unitáte persónae (*p*);	one, in short, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person;
37. nam sicut anima rationabilis et caro unus est homo: ita Deus et homo únus est Chrístus (*p*);	for as the rational soul and the flesh is one man, so God and man is one Christ;

The Redeemer and Judge

38. Qui passus est pro salute nostra: descendit ad inferos, resurréxit a mórtuis (*t*),	Who suffered for our salvation, descended into hell, rose again from the dead,
39. ascendit ad caelos, sedit ad dexteram Patris: inde venturus judicare vívos et mórtuos (*t*).	ascended into heaven, sat at the right hand of the Father, thence shall come to judge the quick and the dead.
40. Ad cujus adventum omnes homines resurgere habent cum[1] corporibus suis: et reddituri sunt de factis própriis ratiónem (*v*);	At whose coming all men will rise again with their bodies and give account of their own deeds;

1 Agreeing with Dom Morin, *J.T.S.* XII. p. 171 n., against Turner.

TEXT	TRANSLATION
41. et qui bona egerunt ibunt in vitam aeternam: qui mala in ignem aetérnum (*p*).	and they that have done good will go into life eternal, they that have done evil into eternal fire.

Conclusion

42. Haec est fides catholica: quam nisi quis fideliter firmiterque crediderit, salvus ésse non póterit (*t*).	This is the Catholic Faith, which unless a man faithfully and steadfastly believe, he will not be able to be in a state of salvation.

II. Its Composition

Of the so-called Athanasian Creed two things may be said with confidence at the outset: that it was originally written in Latin, and cannot therefore be Athanasian, and that it is not a Creed. All the early commentaries and allusions or quotations are in Latin, and the various Greek texts show undoubted signs of being translations, nor do the Greek MSS. go back earlier than the fifteenth century. And that it is not technically a Creed is shown by its form and purpose; it is a hymn, or rhythmical prose composition, intended to be memorized and sung or recited, to prevent the lapse of the orthodox into heresy, and to warn the heretics of the seriousness of their errors.[1] Though not strictly polemical, and in no way argumentative, it obviously owes its origin to some orthodox champion in times of controversy, and the very phrase "catholica fides", occurring at the beginning and the end, has the same anti-heretical ring as "catholica ecclesia" in contrast with unorthodox sects. The fact that the *Quicumque Vult* obviously has this character is some indication of its probable date. The heretical views against which its warnings are uttered are concerned with the doctrines of the Trinity and of the Incarnation, but in regard to the latter the heretical teachings are Arian and Apollinarian; there is no suggestion of Nestorianism or Eutychianism, and the parallel "as

1 "A mon avis le Quicumque est tout simplement une sorte de catéchisme élémentaire, destiné à mettre à la portée des esprits même les moins cultivés les formules dogmatiques...touchant la Trinité et l'Incarnation: le tout avec un certain sens pratique, qui ne s'accuse pas au même degré dans la plupart des anciennes professions de foi." Dom Morin, *Revue Bénéd.* 1901, p. 339.)

the rational soul and the flesh is one man, so God and man is one Christ" was not likely to be used when Eutychianism was prevalent.

The *Quicumque Vult* cannot, then, be earlier than the latter half of the fourth century, and there is some probability that it is not later than the end of the fifth; we can say almost with certainty that it is not later than the sixth.

(1) *Quotations and References*

There are undoubted quotations from the *Quicumque Vult* in a canon of the Fourth Council of Toledo in 633:

Nec personas confundimus nec substantiam separamus. Patrem a nullo factum vel genitum dicimus; Filium a Patre non factum sed genitum asserimus; Spiritum vero Sanctum nec creatum nec genitum, sed procedentem ex Patre et Filio profitemur. Ipsum autem Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Dei Filium et Creatorem omnium, ex substantia Patris ante saecula genitum....Aequalis Patri secundum divinitatem, minor Patre secundum humanitatem....Haec est catholicae ecclesiae fides; hanc confessionem conservamus atque tenemus; quam quisquis firmissime custodierit perpetuam salutem habebit.

It is highly probable also that it is the *Quicumque* which is referred to in a canon of the Council of Autun, *c.* 670: "Si quis presbyter, aut diaconus, subdiaconus, clericus symbolum quod Sancto inspirante Spiritu Apostoli tradiderunt, et fidem sancti Athanasii presulis irreprehensibiliter non recensuerit, ab episcopo condemnetur".

Vincent of Lérins, *Commonitorium*, c. xiii (A.D. 434):

Ecclesia vero catholica...et unam Divinitatem in Trinitatis plenitudine, et Trinitatis aequalitatem in una atque eadem majestate veneratur, et unum Christum Jesum, non duos, eundemque Deum pariter atque hominem confitetur....Alia est persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti....Altera substantia Divinitatis, altera humanitatis; sed tamen Deitas et humanitas non alter et alter, sed unus idemque Christus, unus idemque Filius Dei, et unius ejusdemque Christi et Filii Dei una eademque persona; sicut in homine aliud caro, et aliud anima; sed unus idemque homo, anima et caro...unus idemque Christus Deus et homo...idem Patri aequalis et minor; idem ex Patre ante saecula genitus, idem in saeculo ex matre generatus; perfectus Deus, perfectus homo; in Deo summa Divinitas, in homine plena humanitas. ...Unus, autem, non corruptibili nescio qua Divinitatis et humanitatis confusione, sed integra et singulari quadam unitate personae.

Avitus of Vienne (490–523), *de Divinitate Spiritus Sancti*: "Quem nec factum legimus nec genitum nec creatum....Sicut est proprium Spiritui Sancto a Patre Filioque procedere, istud Fides Catholica etiamsi renuentibus non persuaserit, in suae tamen disciplinae regula non excedit." Avitus is definitely quoting from some written work, and *Fides Catholica* is one of the earliest titles given to the *Quicumque Vult*. Neither of these parallels is absolutely convincing but both are very probable.

Finally it would appear either that the *Quicumque Vult* was known to Augustine, or that it is in part based upon his writings. A long list of parallels is given in Appendix A of Burn's *Introduction to the Creeds*; I quote some of the most outstanding:

4. *de Trin.* vii. 6. Ut neque personarum sit confusio, nec talis distinctio qua sit impar aliquid.
10. *Serm.* 105. Aeternus Pater, coaeternus Filius, coaeternus Spiritus Sanctus.
13. *de Trin.* v. 8. Itaque omnipotens Pater, omnipotens Filius, omnipotens Spiritus Sanctus.
14. *de Trin.* v. 8. Nec tamen tres omnipotentes sed unus omnipotens.
42. *de Trin.* i. 4. Haec est catholica fides;
15. *de Trin.* i. 5. sed in ea nonnulli perturbantur cum audiunt Deum Patrem
16. et Deum Filium et Deum Spiritum Sanctum, et tamen hanc Trinitatem non tres deos sed unum Deum.
17. *c. Maxim.* ii. 23. Sic et Dominum si quaeras, singulum quemque re-
18. spondeo. Sed simul omnes non tres dominos deos, sed unum Dominum Deum.
19. *de Civ. Dei*, ix. 24. Cum de singulis quaeritur, unusquisque Eorum et Deus et omnipotens esse respondeatur; cum vero de omnibus simul, non tres dii, vel tres omnipotentes, sed unus Deus omnipotens.
20. *de Trin.* v. 14. Nam et singillatim si interrogemur de Spiritu Sancto.
21. *Serm.* 140. Dicimus Patrem Deum de nullo.
24. *c. Maxim.* ii. 23. Unus est Pater, non duo vel tres, et unus Filius, non duo vel tres; et unus amborum Spiritus, non duo vel tres.
25. *Serm.* 214. In hac Trinitate non est aliud alio majus aut minus.
30. *Enchir.* 35. Proinde Christus Jesus Dei Filius est et Deus et homo.
31. Deus ante omnia saecula, homo in nostro saeculo.
32. *Serm.* 238. Adversus Arium, veram et perfectam Verbi divinitatem, adversus Apollinarem, perfectam hominis in Christo defendimus veritatem.
33. *Ep.* 137. Aequalem Patri secundum divinitatem, minorem autem Patre secundum carnem, hoc est secundum hominem.
34. *in Joh. Tract.* 78. Agnoscamus geminam substantiam Christi; divinam scilicet qua aequalis est Patri, humanam qua minor est Patri... utrumque autem simul non duo sed unus est Christus.
35. *Enchir.* 34. Verbum caro factum est, a divinitate caro suscepta, non in carnem divinitate mutata.
36. *Serm.* 186. Idem Deus qui homo, et qui Deus idem homo, non confusione naturae sed unitate personae.
37. *in Joh. Tract.* 78. Sicut enim unus est homo anima rationalis et caro, sic unus est Christus Deus et homo.

Of these extracts the fifth and sixth, *de Trin.* i. 4 and 5 (the two passages are consecutive) are the most striking, and at once remind us of the quotation from Avitus. The words "cum audiunt" look as though Augustine also was referring to a formula familiar to his audience, which he too named *Fides Catholica.* Moreover, if once we grant that the *Quicumque Vult* was known to members of the school of Lérins, their semi-pelagian tendency would make it more probable that they used a work from which Augustine also might quote, than one based on his writings. And if the *Quicumque Vult* was known to Augustine we can think of no author of it more probable than Ambrose.

(2) *The Letter of the Council of* 382

The *Quicumque Vult* is obviously directed against Sabellianism, Arianism, Apollinarianism, and Macedonianism. We may therefore confidently date it later than the Council of Constantinople in 381. This puts us on another track. If we turn to the letter sent by the Council of 382 (Theod. *H.E.* v. 9) we seem to find the source of some of the wording of the *Quicumque*:

(The faith of the Council of Nicaea) teaches us to believe in the name	
τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, δηλαδὴ θεότητος καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ οὐσίας μιᾶς τοῦ Π. καὶ τοῦ Υ. καὶ τοῦ Ἁ. Π. πιστευομένης,	6 Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti una est divinitas,
ὁμοτίμου τε τῆς ἀξίας καὶ συναϊδίου τῆς βασιλείας.	aequalis gloria, coaeterna majestas.
Thus there is neither room for the heresy of the Sabellians	
συγχεομένων τῶν ὑποστάσεων,	4 Neque confundentes personas
thus the blasphemy of the Eunomians, of the Arians and of the Pneumatomachi is nullified	
τῆς οὐσίας...τεμνομένης...	neque substantiam separantes.
καὶ τὸν τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως δὲ τοῦ Κυρίου λόγον ἀδιάστροφον σώζομεν, οὔτε ἄνουν, οὔτε ἄψυχον, ἢ ἀτελῆ τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς οἰκονομίαν παραδεχόμενοι, ὅλον δὲ εἰδότες	29 Incarnationem quoque Domini nostri Jesu Christi fideliter credat. 32 Ex anima rationabili et humana carne subsistens.
τέλειον μὲν ὄντα πρὸ αἰώνων Θεοῦ Λόγον, τέλειον δὲ ἄνθρωπον ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν γενόμενον.	31 ante saecula genitus... 32 perfectus Deus, perfectus homo... 33 pro salute nostra.

Here the parallelism is too exact to allow us to doubt that the *Quicumque Vult* is based on the letter; the letter was sent to Damasus, Ambrose and others, and was a reply to the Roman Synod of 380 at which Ambrose was present, and which sent to Paulinus of Antioch a Creed with twenty-four anathemas some of which have points of contact with the *Quicumque Vult*, e.g.:

vv. 3, 28. Haec ergo est salus Christianorum, ut credentes Trinitati id est, Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto (et baptizati, Greek translation, Theod. *H.E.* v. 11) in eam veram, solam, unam divinitatem et potentiam Ejusdem, haec sine dubio credamus (anath. 24).

v. 6. Si quis non dixerit Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti unam divinitatem, potestatem, majestatem, potentiam, unam gloriam dominationem, unum regnum atque unam voluntatem ac veritatem etc. (anath. 20).

v. 8. Anathematizamus Arium atque Eunomium qui Filium et Spiritum Sanctum asserunt esse creaturas (anath. 3).

vv. 13, 26. Si quis non dixerit tres Personas veras Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti aequales...omnia potentes etc. (anath. 21).

v. 16. Quod siquis partiatur Deum Patrem dicens et Deum Filium Ejus et Deum Spiritum deos dici et non Deum etc. (anath. 24).

v. 23. Si quis dixerit Spiritum Sanctum facturam esse etc. (anath. 18).

v. 31. Si quis non dixerit Filium natum de Patre, id est, de substantia Ipsius divina etc. (anath. 11).
dicunt Dei Verbum in humana carne versatum... (anath. 7).

v. 32. Anathematizamus eos, qui pro hominis anima rationabili et intelligibili.

To these possible sources we may add Gregory Nazianzen:

3 and 27 *Orat.* xxv. 17. Νῦν δὲ δίδασκε τοσοῦτον εἰδέναι μόνον μονάδα ἐν τριάδι, καὶ τριάδα ἐν μονάδι προσκυνουμένην.

19 *Orat.* xl. 41. Ταύτην δίδωμι...τὴν μίαν θεότητα καὶ δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς τρισὶν εὑρισκομένην ἑνικῶς, καὶ τὰ τρία συλλαμβανοῦσαν μεριστῶς· οὔτε ἀνώμαλον οὐσίαις ἢ φύσεσιν, οὔτε αὐξομένην ἢ μειουμένην ὑπερβολαίς καὶ ὑφέσεσι, πάντοθεν ἴσην, τὴν αὐτὴν πάντοθεν....Θεὸν ἕκαστον καθ' ἑαυτὸ θεωρουμένον, ὡς Πατέρα καὶ Υἱόν, ὡς Υἱὸν καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα....Θεὸν τὰ τρία σὺν ἀλλήλοις νοούμενα, ἐκεῖνο διὰ τὴν ὁμοουσιότητα, τοῦτο διὰ τὴν μοναρχίαν.

25 *Orat.* xxxi. 14. Ἡμῖν εἷς Θεός, ὅτι μία θεότης· καὶ πρὸς ἓν τὰ ἐξ Αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἔχει, κἂν τρία πιστεύηται· οὐ γάρ, τὸ μὲν μᾶλλον, τὸ δὲ ἧττον Θεός· οὐδὲ τὸ μὲν πρότερον, τὸ δὲ ὕστερον· οὐδὲ βουλήσει τέμνεται, οὐδὲ δυνάμει μερίζεται...ἀλλὰ ἀμέριστος ἐν μεμερισμένοις, εἰ δεῖ συντόμως εἰπεῖν, ἡ θεότης...ὅταν μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὴν θεότητα βλέψωμεν, καὶ τὴν πρώτην αἰτίαν, καὶ τὴν μοναρχίαν, ἓν ἡμῖν τὸ φανταζόμενον, ὅταν δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐν οἷς ἡ θεότης, καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς πρώτης αἰτίας ἀχρόνως ἐκεῖθεν ὄντα καὶ ὁμοδόξως, τρία τὰ προσκυνούμενα.

29 and 30 *Orat.* xl. 45. Πίστευε, τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ...τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀχρόνως...τοῦτον ἐπ ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν γεγενῆσθαι διὰ σὲ... ἐκ τῆς παρθένου προελθόντα Μαρίας...ὅλον ἄνθρωπον, τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ Θεόν.

Of these orations xxv and xxxi were published in 380 and used by Ambrose in his work *de Spiritu Sancto* in the following year, while Oration xl, on Baptism, was delivered on 6 January 381. In the first and third extracts the parallelism with the *Quicumque Vult* is marked, while the second seems to give us the original of the adverb *Singillatim*.

This derivation gives an obvious reason why there are no clauses in the *Quicumque Vult* directed against Nestorianism and Eutychianism; the "Fides Catholica" is a right faith in the Trinity and the Incarnation as contrasted with these earlier heresies.

(3) *Theodosius, Ambrose, the Ordo Ambrosianus*

Now let us adduce certain parallels to clauses 1, 2, 28 and 42 which bear on this point:

1 and 42. Catholicam fidem omni favore veneramur, sine qua salvi esse non possumus...ut cultores omnipotentis Dei aliud nisi catholicos esse credamus. Rescript of the Emperor Theodosius, A.D. 384, *Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat.* xxxv. 46.

2. Nemo potest resurrectionis gloriam videre, nisi qui integrum mysterium Trinitatis incorrupta fidei sinceritate servaverit. Ambrose *in Luc.* vii. 9.

28. Audivimus hodie dicentes eos (obsessos) quibus manus imponebantur, neminem posse esse salvum...qui Trinitatis omnipotentem virtutem non crederet. Ambrose, *Ep.* xxii. 2, A.D. 386.

The rescript of Theodosius would seem to be based on the *Quicumque Vult*, and in that case we can date the latter between 382 and 384, and with high probability ascribe its authorship to Ambrose.

(4) *Parallels in Ambrose*

But if so the writings of Ambrose ought to furnish many parallels. Out of the much fuller list given by Brewer, *Das sogenannte Athanasianische Glaubensbekenntnis*, 1909, I select the following:

(a) *Phrases*

2. *in Luc.* vii. 9. Already quoted.
de Fide, iv. 14. Non quicumque vult, nisi qui fideliter credit (caelum) ingredietur.

3. *de Fide*, i. 6. Adsertio autem nostrae fidei est, ut unum Deum esse dicamus,

4. neque...Filium separemus...neque Patrem confundemus et Verbum.
5. *in Luc.* ii. 12. Alius Pater, alius Filius, alius Spiritus Sanctus.
6. *Ep.* xlviii. 4. Hanc Trinitatem unius esse substantiae, majestatis, divinitatis. A direct reference to the letter of the Council of 382.
7. *Hexaem.* i. 19. Filius est imago Dei invisibilis; qualis ergo Deus est, talis imago.
8. *de Inc.* 112. Unde quia increatus Pater, increatus et Filius.
9. *de Fide*, v. 228. Immensum Te, Filiumque Tuum et Spiritum Sanctum legi frequenter, credo libenter.
10. *de Inc.* 17. Non possum de Patris aeternitate dubitare, cujus aeternus est Filius.
    de Spir. S. i. 8. Ergo si mutationem non habet, aeternitatem habet, et ideo Spiritus Sanctus sempiternus est.
13. *de Inc.* 112. Following on 8: omnipotens Pater, omnipotens Filius.
14. *de Fide*, ii. 36. Ergo et Patris et Filii omnipotentia; sed tamen Deus unus omnipotens.
15. *in Luc.* x. 4. Et Pater Deus et Filius Deus, sed unus Deus.
16. *de Fide*, v. 46. Pater autem et Filius...non duo dii, sed unus Deus.
17, 18 *in Luc.* x. 4. Et Pater Dominus et Filius Dominus...et non duo domini, sed unus Dominus.
19. *de Fide*, i. Singularitas ad personam pertinet, unitas ad naturam.
20. *de Spir. S.* iii. 107. Sacrilegium est tres deos aut dominos dicere.
22. *Ep.* lxiii. 49. (Filius) ex Patre solo natus.
    de Fide, ii. 1. Genitus, non creatus.
23. *de Spir. S.* i. 120. Spiritus quoque Sanctus cum procedit a Patre et Filio.
25. *de Fide*, iv. 146. Increata...Trinitas, quae unius est aeternitatis et gloriae, nec tempus, nec gradum vel posterioris recipit vel prioris.
28. *Ep.* xxii. 21. Already quoted.
29. *de Fide*, v. 106. Incarnationis Dei mysterium universae salus est creaturae.
30. *in Luc.* x. 3. Ergo et Deum Christum et hominem credamus, unus in utroque.
31. *de Spir. S.* iii. 168. Ante saecula ex Patre ut Dei Filius natus, et in saeculo ut homo carnis assumptione generatus.
32. *in Luc.* iv. 45. Jesum Deum hominemque, in utroque perfectum.
33. *in Gestis Aquileiens.* 37. Secundum carnem Filius minor est Patre, secundum divinitatem aequalis est Patri.
34. *in Luc.* vii. 120. Unus et Deus et homo Christus.
35. *de Inc.* 56. Non est Verbi natura in carnis conversa naturam.
36. *de Fide*, i. 9. Non confusione personae, sed unitate naturae.
37. *de Inc.* 11. Homo ex anima rationali constat et corpore.
40. *in Ps.* 1, n. 51. Actuum suorum in die judicii rationem reddituri sunt.

(b) *Points of Style*

1. Vult salvus esse.	*de Fuga Saec.* 4. qui salvus esse vult.
	Hymnus, iii. 28. qui credidit, salvus erit.
Ante omnia	*de Cain*, ii. 8. ante omnia fides nos commendare Deo debet.
Fidem tenere	*de Exc. Fratr.* i. 47. etsi fidem ergo Deum tenerent.
	in Inc. i. 13. qui autem de Deo sunt, fidem tenent.

Catholica Fides	*de Fide*, ii. 139. fidei catholicae in te vigentis habituri simus auxilium.
2. (Fides) integra	*Explan. Sym.* (M. 17, 1157 B). Fides integra adversus Sabellianos.... Ubi fides integra est.
Integra inviolataque	*Explan. Sym.* (M. 17, 1155 B). integra et inviolabilis conservatur.
(Fidem) servare	*in Ps.* 37, n. 8. si servaveris fidem.
	in Luc. vii. 9. Already quoted.
Absque = sine	*de Parad.* 59. absque caeteris.
In aeternam perire	*in Ps.* 118, xiv. 30. hujus anima non perit in aeternum.
3. Fides autem catholica haec est	*de Fide*, i. 6. Already quoted.
Deum venerare = adorare	*Ep.* xlviii. 4. ut Patrem Deum et Filium Ejus unigenitum et S. S. veneremur.
11, 14, 16, 18. Et tamen	*de Fide*, v. 200. et tamen eligant.
13. Similiter	*de Spir. S.* iii. 85. similiter itaque et Spiritus.
19. Confiteri...compellimur.	*in Ps.* 118, xx. 21. (athleta) certare compellitur.
26. Totae	*de Fide*, ii. 130. hoc enim totis scripturarum exponitur libris. Cp. Niceta, *de Lapsu Virginis*, 41, in totis quinque civitatibus; Avitus, *Ep.* 57, totis tribus personis; and Rönsch, *Itala und Vulgata*, p. 338.
27. Per omnia	*in Ps.* 118, vi. 30. διὰ παντός non solum significat quod semper sed etiam id quod per omnia, quia ille per omnia legem custodit.
28. De Trinitate sentire	*in Ps.* i. n. 40. ne forte sit grave nobis hoc sentire de Christo.
29. Fideliter credere	*de Fide*, iv. 14. nisi qui fideliter credit.
30. Pariter	*de Offic.* i. 248. mente pariter et corpore.
34. Licet...non duo tamen	*in Luc.* v. 69. licet...multa sint lenocinia verborum pleraque tamen.
36. Unus omnino	*in Luc.* i. 17. nunquam omnino.
40. Ad cujus adventum	*de Virg.* 60. bonum est ut ad adventum Domini interiora turbentur. Si ad angeli adventum Maria turbata est, quanto majus ad Christi nos turbamur adventum.
Omnes homines	*de Poen.* i. 13. nam omnes homines sub peccato nascimur.
Resurgere habent	*de Elia*, 7. per escam culpa haberet evitare.
	de Cain, ii. 26. ubi enim frater habebat occidi.
	de Abr. ii. 91. qui incipere habet.
Corporibus suis... propriis	*in Luc.* vi. 87. (natura) nec suos agnoscit ortus, usu tamen proprio recognoscit.
Facta = actus, opera	*Apol. David.* 24. similiter et facta bona manifesta sunt.
	in Ps. 43. nequis glorietur in suis factis.
Repetition	*de Spir. S.* i. 112. donat solus Pater, solus Filius, solus Spiritus Sanctus.
Antithesis	*de Spir. S.* iii. 109. ergo sanctus Pater sanctus et Filius sanctus et Spiritus: sed non tres sancti, quia unus est Deus sanctus.

(5) *Faustinus, Philastrius, Honorius of Autun, Sicardus of Cremona, Rufinus*

On the other hand it is possible to trace a dependence on the *Quicumque Vult* not only in the rescript of Theodosius but also in the *de Trinitate sive de Fide contra Arianos* written by Faustinus about the year 384:

6. vii. 1. Una est ergo divinitas Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti;
7. iv. 1. Qualis enim Pater Deus est, talis et Filius Deus est;
13, 14. iii. 2. Sed ne duos omnipotentes intellegas praecavendum est; licet enim et Pater omnipotens sit et Filius, tamen unus est omnipotens sicut et unus Deus;

where the third quotation looks conclusive.

Similarly in chapter 93 of the *Liber de Haeresibus* by Philastrius of Brescia written at about the same date at the request of the Empress Flaccilla:

5. Ergo est vera persona Patris, quae misit Filium, et est vera persona Filii, quae advenit de Patre, et est vera persona Spiritus, quae a Patre et Filio missa est. Trium itaque harum personarum una est veritas, majestas, et substantiae aequalitas, et divinitas
7, 9. sempiterna. Qualis est enim immensa et inenarranda Patris persona, talis est et Filii, talis est et Spiritus Sancti.

And at the conclusion of the same chapter:

> Sed ut Patris veram personam, et Filii talem qualem Patris, et Spiritus Sancti sicut Filii veram credamus personam: harumque personarum unam qualitatis substantiam, majestatem, et potentiam cognoscamus...haec ita (Christus) dignatus est operari et loqui pro salute nostra.

The connexion of the *Quicumque Vult* with Theodosius and his court is brought out in two curious documents of the middle ages, where nevertheless it is attributed to Athanasius, who died in 373, while Theodosius became Emperor in 379.

Honorius of Autun (*c.* 1090–1125), *Gemma Animae*, II. 59 (Migne, *P.L.* CLXXII. 634), enumerates four Creeds, the Apostles', Nicene, Constantinopolitan, and the *Quicumque Vult*, and writes: "Quartam fidem Quicumque Vult (ecclesia catholica) quotidie ad Primam iterat quam Athanasius, Alexandrinus episcopus, *rogatu Theodosii Imperatoris* edidit". And Sicardus of Cremona (1185–1215), *Mitrale*, IV. 6 (Migne, *P.L.* CCXIII. 170), speaking of Prime says: "Subditur symbolum fidei, scilicet Quicumque

vult, quod Athanasius, Alexandrinus episcopus, *rogatu Theodosii Imperatoris* ad eradicandam invalescentem haereticorum perfidiam et divulgandam fidem catholicam edidit."

If Ambrose is the author of the *Explanatio* and one of the writers referred to by Rufinus (see p. 84), we may be disposed to attach some importance to what appears to be a reference to the *Quicumque* in the latter's *Ecclesiastical History*, x. 29: "ut ejusdem substantiae ac deitatis, cujus Pater et Filius, etiam Spiritus Sanctus crederetur, nec quicquam prorsus in Trinitate aut creatum aut inferius posteriusve diceretur". Cf. also "Trinitas in personarum distinctione, unitas in veritate substantiae...Filius Dei...carne et anima humana suscepta... passus est pro salute nostra...resurrexit a mortuis...ascendit ad caelos". *Apol.* i. 4.

(6) *The Letter of Ambrose to Valentinian*

The early use of the *Quicumque Vult* at Milan cannot be absolutely proved, but is rendered highly probable by different lines of evidence. In his letter to Valentinian (*Ep.* xxi) written in 386 Ambrose encloses a discourse against Auxentius near the close of which occurs the following passage:

> Hymnorum quoque meorum carminibus deceptum populum ferunt. Plane nec hoc abnuo. Grande carmen istud est, quo nihil potentius. Quid enim potentius quam confessio Trinitatis, quae quotidie totius populi ore celebratur? Certatim omnes student fidem fateri; Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum norunt versibus praedicare; facti sunt igitur omnes magistri, qui vix poterant esse discipuli.

On the meaning of "hymnus" see *de Off.* i. 220: "Sed possumus et hominem...honorare: hymnus specialiter Deo dicitur"; and compare *de Spir. S.* iii. 10 where the Trisagion is called a Hymnus. "Carmen" is a liturgical formula and the Psalms are repeatedly called "hymni" and "carmina" by Ambrose, and "versus" could be similarly applied. There is therefore, nothing in this language which would render it inappropriate to the *Quicumque Vult*, and the description as a whole fits it admirably.

That the *Quicumque Vult* may be rightly called a "hymn" or "canticle" is shown not only by its form, but also by the

fact that from the close of the eighth century it is found in a large number of Psalters, together with a series of canticles which always includes the *Te Deum*; and concurrently there is a nearly continuous testimony in episcopal charges and admonitions and conciliar decrees enjoining its use.

The Liturgy of Milan is independent in origin from that of Rome, whether secular or monastic (Benedictine), and spread westward, and where it differs from the Roman it often seems to reflect the mind of Ambrose. Thus, in the *Oratio ad Consecrandam Ecclesiam* (Mercati, *Antiche Reliquie Liturgiche*, p. 23), the Milanese rite has "Omnesque homines venientes adorare in hoc loco propitius dignare respicere ut...constanter in sanctae Trinitatis unitate et fide catholica perseverent"; where the corresponding prayer in the Gelasian sacramentary (ed. Wilson, p. 133) omits "unitate et", a characteristically Ambrosian phrase, which appears in the *Quicumque Vult* in almost identical form.

The evidence for the use of the *Quicumque Vult* at Milan is as follows: *Epistola Canonica*, published by the Ballerini and assigned by them to the sixth century, but by Dom Morin (*J.T.S.* XII. p. 178) to the seventh or eighth, is an episcopal charge directing that all the clergy should learn the Catholic Faith by heart. It belongs to North Italy and was adopted by Atto, Bishop of Vercellae, in the tenth century. Ratherius of Verona in Lent 966 directed that they should learn the three Creeds, ascribing the *Quicumque* to Athanasius.

A Synod held at Siponto at the end of the ninth century directed all the clergy to sing the Creed every Lord's day.

Then the anonymity of the *Quicumque Vult* tells in favour of its Ambrosian authorship. Nearly all the hymns assigned to Ambrose are anonymous, and they are attributed to him: (1) because they correspond in style and matter with writings known to be his; (2) because they appear to have been in early use in Milan; (3) in a few instances because they are attributed to writers approximately contemporary to whom they clearly do not belong. The *Quicumque Vult* fulfils all these conditions. It resembles the known works of Ambrose in style and

phraseology; it deals with precisely the heresies which he combated; its use at Milan is probably at least as early as, and independent of, its use in Gaul; it is ascribed in the Canon of Autun to Athanasius. Finally it is a hymn intended for antiphonal singing, and the practice of antiphonal singing was introduced at Milan by Ambrose from the East, the list of canticles sung at Milan closely resembling that of Remesiana and Constantinople; the *Cursus Leoninus* in which the *Quicumque Vult* is written was probably an Eastern importation; and certain phrases seem to go back to the letter of the Council of Constantinople in 382, which was addressed, among others, to Ambrose.

These considerations, drawn for the most part from the work of Brewer to which reference has been already made, if they do not prove the Ambrosian authorship of the *Quicumque Vult*, an impossible task, at any rate far outweigh the evidence for the claim of any other author, and have the support of Seeberg in modern Germany, and before his death converted Dr Burn in England.[1]

If we allow on the one hand that the *Quicumque Vult* is dependent on the letter of the bishops at Constantinople in 382, and on the other hand that the rescript of Theodosius in 384 is dependent on it, we obtain narrow limits of the date of its composition.

III. Name and Use

The earliest and only proper title of the *Quicumque Vult* is *Fides Catholica*. It is so called by writers in the ninth century who describe it as a *sermo* or instruction. In this period it is also called a Hymn concerning Faith of the Trinity, and in the constitutions of English bishops of the thirteenth century a Psalm. The name *symbolum* was first attached to it by Regino of Prum (*c.* 892).

At the beginning of the ninth century it was used at Prime at the Benedictine Abbey of Fleury, and in 922 adopted in the

[1] See *J.T.S.* XXVII. 105, pp. 19–28.

monastic church of St Martin at Tours, while at the end of the tenth century it was sung antiphonally both in England and France. The canon of Autun was probably passed to ensure that the clergy should know it for this purpose. It is incorporated in Psalters of the eighth century and the frequency of quotations from it in sermons is probably due to its regular recitation. As regards Rome the evidence would tend to show that it was not in use there before the eleventh century. At Milan and Tours it was sung daily, but at Rome only on Sundays, and owing to the frequent "occurrence" of festivals its use has become almost limited to the Sundays in Advent, and from Septuagesima to the end of Lent. The English use was to recite it daily between the Psalms and the prayers at Prime. In the Prayer Book of 1549 it was to be said after the Benedictus at Mattins on six great festivals, seven saints' days being added in 1552; in both books it was to be followed by the Apostles' Creed, but in the Prayer Book of 1662 the Apostles' Creed was dropped on these occasions, and so the *Quicumque Vult* appeared to be a substitute for it.

It is never recited in the East, though from the latter part of the eighteenth century it has been printed in the Appendix of the Greek Horologium, of course without the *Filioque* clause.

In the Russian service books it appears at the beginning of the Psalter, and seems to have been introduced in the middle of the seventeenth century. The translation has been made from a Greek version and of course omits the *Filioque* clause.

How it first obtained the name of "Athanasian" is unknown, but another document, the *Fides Romanorum*, was occasionally ascribed to him, and as the *Quicumque Vult* was specially directed against Sabellianism, Arianism, and Apollinarianism, the attribution would not be unnatural; in the great controversy between the East and the West on the doctrine of the Double Procession, the Latin Monks on Mount Olivet quoted a document which they described as the Faith of Athanasius, and henceforth the use of the *Quicumque Vult* in the West became intensified.

IV. The English Translation

An English translation of the *Quicumque Vult* was first included in the various editions of *The Manuall of Prayers, or the Prymer in Englysshe set out at lengthe...set forth by John* (Hilsey) *late Bishop of Rochester*, 1530, and then entitled *The symbole or crede of the great Doctour Athanasius*. That made for the Prayer Book of 1549 was corrected by the Greek version in "Ὧραι τῆς ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας κατ' ἔθος τῆς ῥωμαικῆς ἐκκλησίας," Aldus, Venice, 1497, and possibly by a Greek Psalter published by Cephaleus at Strasburg in 1524, and at Antwerp in 1533. The Reformers deemed it right to follow the most authentic source, and could not think that a document whose western origin was not then imagined, and which bore the name of a Greek doctor, was written in any other language than Greek. A parallel error may be found in Jewel's argument that writings in Greek could not be by Clement of Rome; "Were the Bishop of Rome's books...written in Greek?" he asks (*Works*, 1. p. iii., Parker Soc.).

I give specimens of variations:[1]

1.	inviolatum	undefiled ἀμώμητον
4.	substantiam separantes	dividing μερίζοντες
9.	immensus	incomprehensible ἀκατάληπτος
12.	non tres increati, nec tres immensi	not three incomprehensibles, nor three uncreated οὐδὲ τρεῖς ἀκατάληπτοι οὐδὲ τρεῖς ἄκτιστοι
18.	singillatim...confiteri	acknowledge...by himself ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστον
29.	fideliter credat	believe rightly ὀρθῶς πιστεύσῃ
42.	fideliter firmiterque	faithfully πιστῶς

1 A fuller list is given by Swainson, *Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*, pp. 492, 493.

Note proposed to be added to the rubric by the Royal Commission in 1689, first made public in 1854.

The Articles of which ought to be received and believed as agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, and the condemning clauses are to be understood as relating only to those who obstinately deny the substance of the Christian Faith.

SYNODICAL DECLARATION

Made by the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury in 1873, and re-affirmed in 1879.

"For the removal of doubts, and to prevent disquietude in the use of the Creed commonly called the Creed of St Athanasius, this Synod doth solemnly declare:

1. "That the Confession of our Christian faith, commonly called the Creed of St Athanasius, doth not make any addition to the faith as contained in Holy Scripture, but warneth against errors which from time to time have arisen in the Church of Christ.

2. "That as Holy Scripture in divers places doth promise life to them that believe, and declare the condemnation of them that believe not, so doth the Church in this Confession declare the necessity for all who would be in a state of salvation of holding fast the Catholic faith, and the great peril of rejecting the same. Wherefore the warnings in this Confession of faith are to be understood no otherwise than the like warnings in Holy Scripture, for we must receive God's threatenings even as His promises, in such wise as they are generally set forth in Holy Writ. Moreover the Church doth not herein pronounce judgment on any particular person or persons, God alone being the Judge of all."

PART IV

THE "COMMUNION OF SAINTS" AS AN ARTICLE OF THE CREED

Chapter XVIII

THE "COMMUNION OF SAINTS" AS AN ARTICLE OF THE CREED

I. Introduction. II. Theological Considerations. III. *Sanctorum Communio* not equivalent to "The Church". IV. Date and Language. V. Grammatical Construction. VI. The Early Interpretation: (1) Council of Nîmes, (2) *Simbolum graeca lingua est*, (3) St Basil, (4) St Augustine, (5) Niceta of Remesiana. VII. Later Interpretations; Faustus of Riez and others. VIII. Conclusion.

I. Introduction

The subject of our enquiry is historical rather than dogmatic or apologetic; it is not directly concerned with modern interpretations of this phrase, but rather with its meaning during the period in which the Apostles' Creed was in process of formation, that is, from the middle of the second to the middle of the eighth century. Our present Apostles' Creed appears in its entirety, but for a minute variation, in the works of Priminius about A.D. 750, and it is not improbable that the particular phrase occurred in a Christian Creed in Asia Minor as early as the time of Irenaeus; but though our main enquiry will be confined within these boundaries, the use of the word "communion" in the New Testament may help to throw light on the meaning of the phrase at the beginning of the period, and certain later arrangements may perform a similar office at its close; so we shall allow ourselves to trespass in both directions beyond the limits we have assigned.

By thus narrowing our scope we shall avoid being entangled in highly controversial questions. We shall not ask whether or no the modern mind has a particular tendency, what views are

congenial to it and what repugnant, what help or hindrance is supplied by modern psychology or modern physical or biological science, questions which raise a cloud of controversy in regard to another article of the Creed, "the resurrection of the body"; nor shall we contend that the meaning attached to any phrase in ancient times is the only meaning legitimate in our day. We cannot indeed avoid theological considerations, but they will be such considerations as would limit the possibilities of the meaning attached to the phrase in the ancient Church, without urging that the modern mind ought or ought not to view theological questions from the same standpoint; and these theological presuppositions are for the most part to be deduced from the dogmatic formulas in which they are embodied.

Within our period there are, in fact, three different though interlacing strands guiding us to our conclusion; they are: (1) theological, what sort of statements were considered fitting to be made matters of dogmatic requirement; (2) grammatical, what would be the natural interpretation of *sanctorum communio* or *κοινωνία τῶν ἁγίων* as determined by grammatical usage; and (3) what direct evidence we have of the actual meaning attached to the phrase by ancient authors. The task proposed will be satisfactorily accomplished if these three lines of enquiry all lead to the same solution of our problem.

II. Theological Considerations

Rightly or wrongly the ancient Church was subject to none of our modern scruples and hesitations with regard to the need of dogma. It did not regard the Christian faith as a speculation but as a revelation. It does not seem to have felt dogmatic statements as burdens on the conscience or fetters on the intellect, but rather as instruments for the removal of terrors, and as welcome truths giving to the intellect a sure basis for advance. And in consequence it had no hesitation in expelling refractory members from its own body, not merely for moral or disciplinary offences, but for holding views opposed, in its judgement, to that faith which it was its office and privilege to proclaim. And in fact it went beyond mere expulsion, and held

that the heretic was not only cut off from its communion on earth, but that his eternal salvation was also thereby imperilled. It might perhaps have hesitated to say "*Extra ecclesiam nulla salus est*"; it would not have scrupled to say with every confidence "*Extra ecclesiam nulla salus revelata est.*"

The teaching of the Church no doubt ran beyond its Creeds, but the Creed represented the bare minimum of dogmatic requirement; it was that on which the Church claimed to have fully and finally made up its mind. But the Church did not believe in the stability of its own faith considered subjectively; it believed in the inalterability of the objective facts; and it was this which was implied when it spoke of the inalterability of the faith. The faith, it asserted, was the same from age to age, because the facts could not change; they partook of a double immutability, in the changelessness of God who wrought them, and in the changelessness of past history which not even God Himself can alter.

Thus, even if it asserted a belief in the Church, it was not a belief in itself as a merely human society, or in its own goodness or merit or power; God was its founder, His Spirit illumined and sanctified it. Irenaeus might be extravagant in saying *Ubi Spiritus Dei, illic ecclesia* but the whole Church was convinced *Ubi ecclesia, ibi est Spiritus Dei.*[1]

Similarly in the Nicene Creed "We confess one baptism" is not a statement of the duty of being baptized or of bringing infants to baptism, it is a profession of faith in the benefits God gives in the ordinance. Nor in the teaching of the Church would the two great sacraments of the Gospel be separated. The Church of England may or may not be right in asserting that these two are "generally necessary to salvation"; it is at any rate in the most complete agreement with the teaching of the Church in earlier ages, to which expulsion from the society

1 *Adv. Haer.* III. xxxviii. 1. Cp. Tert. *de Bapt.* 6, "Ubi tres, id est Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, ibi ecclesia"; *de Pudic.* 21, "Ecclesia proprie et principaliter Ipse est Spiritus"; Clem. Alex. *Paed.* i. p. 114, *οὕτω τὸ πιστεῦσαι μόνον καὶ ἀναγεννηθῆναι τελείωσίς ἐστιν ἐν ζωῇ· οὐ γάρ ποτε ἀσθενεῖ ὁ Θεός. Ὡς γὰρ τὸ θέλημα Αὐτοῦ ἔργον ἐστί, καὶ τοῦτο κόσμος ὀνομάζεται· οὕτως καὶ τὸ βούλημα Αὐτοῦ ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ σωτηρία, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκκλησία κέκληται.*

and excommunication were the same thing. However difficult it might be to secure regularity of communicating, the Church did not hesitate to say that by the one sacrament the supernatural life of Christians was initiated, and by the other it was sustained.

So also, if the Creed proclaimed the resurrection of the dead, that event was thought of not as a stage in a natural evolution, but as the action of God's power; the dead were not simply to arise but to be raised. And so in the last article of the Creed, eternal life, or the life of the coming age, existed already as an objective fact, over against the believer, in Jesus.

In short, if we examine the actual forms taken by the Creed, we find that the subjective element is confined to the introductory words "I" or "we believe"; all the rest is a statement of what the Church held to be objective facts, which neither belief nor unbelief could alter. But more than that, the particular facts selected for commemoration were facts on which salvation was held to rest. Unless God had become incarnate, unless Jesus had died, and risen, and ascended, and been seated at the right hand of the Father; unless the Spirit had been sent; unless the Church had been founded; unless sins were remitted; then salvation would not have been received. In short, to the mind of the early Church the Creed stated, and stated only, the necessary objective conditions of salvation. Salvation had for the individual subjective conditions also; he must orient his life by this Creed and in accordance with these facts; and for the accomplishment of that purpose he must first of all accept the facts in accordance with which his manner of life was to be regulated. Thus the insistence on a right faith was but the assertion from another point of view of the value and truth of the facts to be believed; the subjective need and the objective truth involved each other.

This characteristic at once states for us certain limits as to what the phrase "communion of saints" might mean at the time when it was inserted into the Creed. It must not merely state a truth, it must state an objective ground or necessary condition of salvation; and this ground or condition must not

be alterable; in the sense of "the things to be believed" the "faith" had been the same ever since Pentecost.

Clearly, therefore, "the communion of saints" could not mean the intercourse of living and dead Christians as such; temporal life and death have no relevance; at Pentecost there were no dead Christians. This, of course, does not exclude the meaning "the mutual intercourse of Christians to which death makes no difference"; it merely insists that "the communion of saints" could not at its first insertion into the Creed have meant the mutual intercourse of two distinct classes of Christians, the living and the dead.

Nor could the phrase intend to assert any spiritual activity on the part of believers whether living or departed. The Church laid emphasis on the duty of mutual love and on its expression in mutual prayer, but the spiritual effect of such activity on its recipient was to intensify the atmosphere or medium across which the action of God could pass; men might be placed by it in a state more favourable to salvation, but the salvation which they became more fitted to welcome and to receive was God's work. The Pelagianism which imputed a saving value to a man's own efforts and the Donatism to those of his fellows were alike reckoned heresies; they detracted from the completeness of the objective work wrought in Christ. Consequently, as an article of the Creed, "the communion of saints" could not mean "that spiritual atmosphere of mutual charity or holiness which believers foster by the use of grace"; it must express some divine act or gift. The Church held, no doubt, a high opinion of the duty and value of intercession, but neglect of this duty, while it might imperil the salvation of the man himself, did not threaten the salvation of those for whom he failed to intercede: it was the intercession of Christ, and not of Christians, that possessed saving efficacy. The Christian could assert as an article of his faith that his salvation depended on the oblation of Himself made by Christ; he could not assert that his salvation depended on the oblation of himself made by anyone else, however exalted. Intercession, to the mind of the early Church, was not a power which saves; it could at the utmost be a condition of

salvation but never a cause of it. The phrase, therefore, could not, in the Creed, mean "I believe in the mutual love, intercourse, assistance, or prayer of saints, or of any class of saints"; that would appear to be imputing to Christians as a source the power which belonged to them only as a gift; it was on the verge of idolatry; it would certainly be thought to be Pelagian or Donatist.

This kind of explanation of the phrase is to-day widespread; it is certainly not primitive. The modern mind tends to become absorbed in interest in its own activities; the mind of the early Church had a far more objective outlook, it was considering the work of God.

The other explanation now commonly given is that the "communion of saints" means not the "intercommunion" but the "community" of Christians; that is, the phrase is a synonym of "the holy catholic Church". Clearly this meaning is admissible on theological grounds; if it is to be excluded at all it must be either because *communio* or *κοινωνία* will not bear this concrete sense; because the words "Church" and "communion of saints" are found separated from one another; or from direct testimony that as a matter of fact this phrase was not so regarded.

III. "Sanctorum Communio" not equivalent to "The Church"

Each of the terms of this phrase is individually ambiguous. *Communio* can be used in a concrete sense to mean a body of persons, and *sanctorum* can be either masculine or neuter. Supposing *communio* to be concrete, then *sanctorum*, if it be masculine, will be a possessive genitive. Grammatically this is quite possible both in Latin and in Greek, though apparently it is more common in the former than in the latter. Supposing this to be the meaning of both words, then *sanctorum* must include all Christians; the restriction to the "departed", or "the specially holy" is not earlier than the fifth century, and then appears only in the West, while dead Christians and specially holy Christians, "saints" in the popular sense, form no separate community of their own, but are members of a single

society which embraces the living as well as the dead, and sinners as well as saints. It is perfectly true that the Donatists, like other puritans in other ages, claimed that the title "saints" belonged to them exclusively, but they did so because "holy" was the epithet most regularly applied to the Church from very early times, and they asserted that they themselves formed the entire Church.

This meaning, however, would seem to be definitely excluded from the phrase as used in the Creed by the fact that the "communion of saints" and "the Church" are often found separated from each other, whereas if they were regarded as equivalents they must have been always closely connected. Starting from the West, the order of clauses in the Bangor Antiphonary is *Sanctam ecclesiam catholicam*, *Abremissa peccatorum*, *Sanctorum communionem*. In *Miss. Gall.* 1. the interpunctuation assigns *Spiritum Sanctum*, *Sanctam ecclesiam catholicam* to Article 9, and places *Sanctorum communionem*, *Remissionem peccatorum* in Article 10. Similarly, when separate articles are assigned to individual Apostles, Priminius gives *Sanctorum communionem* to Jude as Article 11; pseudo-Augustine, Sermon 241 to Simon Zelotes as Article 10; the Book of Deer joins *Sanctam ecclesiam* by *que* to *Spiritum Sanctum*; a Gallican Creed of the tenth or eleventh century[1] joins *Sanctorum communionem* with *Remissionem peccatorum* by *et* where *Miss. Gall.* 2 has *ac*, unless this be a mistake for *abremissionem*. Coming further East the Creed of Jerome obviously draws a distinction between the Church and the communion of saints, since it runs: *Credo remissionem peccatorum in sancta ecclesia*, *Sanctorum communionem*; and the distinction is no less marked in the sermon of Niceta of Remesiana who writes: *Ergo in hac una ecclesia credis te communionem consecuturum esse sanctorum*. Finally, in Armenia we have a Creed[2] with a similar arrangement to that of the Bangor Antiphonary: "We believe in the forgiveness of sins in the holy Church, and in the communion of saints". A distinction between the Church and the

1 Hahn[3], p. 82.

2 Cartegian, *de Fidei Symbolo quo Armenii utuntur*, Venice, 1893, p. 39.

communion of saints so widely distributed is decisive against holding that the second phrase is a mere equivalent of the first.

It is noticeable that the phrase "communion of saints" is exclusively liturgical. It is found in a canon of the Council of Nîmes in 394, and in Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae brevius tractatae*, Interrog. cccix, and in Sermon 52 of Augustine, but beyond these three examples seems to be limited either to the Creed itself or to expositions of it. Thus the number of possible occurrences is narrowly limited, and this makes the wide extension of the authorities noticed the more remarkable, and definitely shuts out the concrete meaning of "the Christian body or society". And by the same reasoning we must exclude also that mutual membership of Christians in each other which follows from their common membership in Christ and in the Church. Theologically this is not a ground of salvation but an effect of participation in Christ, and would thus not have been, in the mind of the early Church, a fit object for dogmatic assent; historically it obviously was not so asserted in fact.

IV. Date and Language

Besides the authorities already cited the phrase occurs in the Creed of Faustus of Riez (bp. 449–482) who came from Lérins; in a Gallican sermon attributed to Augustine (Serm. 242); in a second Gallican sermon, *Simbolum graeca lingua est*, and in others of a later date; in the missal of Bobbio—a monastery founded by Columban the Irishman after leaving Bregenz,—and in the Mozarabic Liturgy. It does not occur in the Creed of Africa, either in the time of Augustine or in that of Fulgentius of Ruspe at the beginning of the sixth century, nor in the Creed of Rome until the adoption of the *Textus Receptus*. It would seem, therefore, to be employed in liturgical formulas solely in places which lie on the great road from Asia Minor, across the Bosphorus, through Pannonia, Aquileia, the plain of Northern Italy and Southern France, to Spain; and in its northern fork, over the Brenner,

by the lake of Constance, to Northern France, Britain and Ireland.

Thus all our earliest authorities point back to Asia Minor and the Greek language. The Lower Rhône valley was largely dominated by Greek influence. Nîmes was probably trilingual, speaking Greek, Latin, and Celtic. The presbyters and deacons who came thither *de ultimis partibus Orientis* doubtless spoke Greek and may have brought the phrase with them along this road. The Mozarabic Liturgy has many Eastern affinities. The Creed of Jerome cannot be dissociated from that of Niceta; this latter was of Eastern origin and Niceta is either himself translating from a Greek original or using a translation already made. Basil of Cappadocia of course wrote and spoke in Greek, and Armenia was evangelized from Cappadocia. Thus the origin of the phrase is Greek and must be looked for in Asia Minor not later than the fourth century. Not later—but possibly two centuries earlier.

We have already drawn attention to the Creed of the Marcosians given by Irenaeus[1], and there is good reason for supposing that it is a parody of a Christian Creed of six clauses, which, by comparison with other early Creeds, we should judge to be a probable length for this date; we saw that the fourth and fifth clauses might well represent in the Christian original:

In one (holy) church
And forgiveness of sins.

We are then left in the parody with *καὶ κοινωνίαν τῶν δυνάμεων* and this would seem to represent *καὶ κοινωνίαν τῶν ἁγίων*. The separation of "the communion of saints" from "the Church" has many parallels, and in the Armenian Creed Cartegian reads "Holy Church; Forgiveness of sins; Communion of saints", and Caspari, "Forgiveness of sins in holy Church; Communion of saints". But independently of the Marcosian Creed we can assert that the language of the phrase "communion of saints" was Greek, its home Asia Minor, and its date not later than the fourth century.

[1] See pp. 24, 28, 29, 35.

V. Grammatical Construction

Having settled the question of language, we need only attach a subordinate importance to Latin translations, and confine ourselves in the main to the phrase in Greek.

The New Testament

In the New Testament wherever *κοινωνία* is followed by a noun in the genitive case, the genitive is either (*a*) possessive, (*b*) descriptive, or (*c*) partitive, and the last is by far the most common; "communion with" is always expressed by the use of the preposition *μετά* or *πρός*.

Absolute:

Gal. iii. 9, "The right hand of fellowship".
Heb. xiii. 6, "Forget not well-doing and fellowship" or "hospitality".

With dependent genitive:

(*a*) Possessive: Phil. i. 5, *ἐπὶ τῇ κ. ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.*
(*b*) Descriptive: Phil. ii. 1, *εἴ τι παραμύθιον ἀγάπης, εἴ τις κ. πνεύματος* (possibly partitive, see below).
Philem. 6, *ἡ κ. τῆς πίστεώς σου.*
(*c*) Partitive: 1 Cor. i. 9, *ἐκλήθητε εἰς κ. τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ.*
(Cp. Heb. iii. 14, *μέτοχοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ γεγόναμεν.*)
1 Cor. x. 16, *κ. τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ...κ. τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ.*
2 Cor. viii. 4, *τὴν κ. τῆς διακονίας εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους.*
(Cp. Rom. xii. 13, *ταῖς χρείαις τῶν ἁγίων κοινωνοῦντες.*
Phil. iv. 14–16, *συνκοινωνήσαντές μου τῇ θλίψει....οὐδεμία ἐκκλησία ἐκοινώνησεν εἰς λόγον δόσεως καὶ λήμψεως...εἰς τὴν χρείαν μοι ἐπέμψατε.*
1 Tim. vi. 18, *εὐμεταδότους εἶναι, κοινωνικούς.*
Rom. xv. 27, *τοῖς πνευματικοῖς αὐτῶν ἐκοινώνησαν τὰ ἔθνη.*)
2 Cor. xiii. 13, *ἡ κ. τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.* (Possibly descriptive but cp. Heb. vi. 4, *μετόχους γενηθέντας πνεύματος ἁγίου*; 2 Pet. i. 4, *γένησθε θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως.*)
Phil. iii. 10, *κ. τῶν παθημάτων αὐτοῦ.*

With a preposition = "fellowship with":

μετά:

1 John i. 3. 6. 7, *ἵνα ὑμεῖς κ. ἔχητε μεθ' ἡμῶν· καὶ ἡ κ. δὲ ἡμετέρα μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ....Ἐὰν εἴπωμεν ὅτι κ. ἔχομεν μετ' αὐτοῦ...κ. ἔχομεν μετ' ἀλλήλων.*

πρός:

2 Cor. vi. 14, *τίς κ. φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος*; (= contribution towards).

εἰς:

Rom. xv. 26, *κ. τινὰ ποιήσασθαι εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῶν ἁγίων.*
2 Cor. ix. 13, *δοξάζοντες τὸν Θεὸν ἐπὶ τῇ...ἁπλότητι τῆς κ. εἰς αὐτούς.*

There remains Acts ii. 42, which, as it has been so persistently misinterpreted, claims fuller treatment:

ἦσαν προσκαρτεροῦντες τῇ διδαχῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς.

Here κοινωνία is used absolutely, for

(1) According to N.T. usage "communion with" the Apostles would be expressed by μετά or πρός.

(2) And if κ. is to be taken with τῶν ἀπ. the Greek would run τῇ διδαχῇ καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῶν ἀποστόλων or τῇ τῶν ἀπ. δ. καὶ κ.

(3) Moreover the rhythm is against this conjunction.

(4) In the succeeding clause it is impossible to take ταῖς προσευχαῖς with τοῦ ἄρτου, as the parallelism would require.

(5) Each part of the phrase would seem to be used technically, as is certainly true of τῇ κλάσει του ἄρτου, and technically κοινωνία means not "communion with" but "contribution to" or "community of goods".

(6) The succeeding verses are a comment on this. The δ. τῶν ἀπ. was enforced by signs and wonders, v. 43; the κλ. τοῦ ἄ. was κατ' οἶκον, v. 46; the προσευχαί included the θυσία αἰνέσεως, v. 46; and ἡ κ. is explained to mean οἱ πιστεύσαντες εἶχον ἅπαντα κοινά, καὶ τὰ κτήματα καὶ τὰς ὑπάρξεις ἐπίπρασκον καὶ διεμέριζον αὐτὰ πᾶσιν καθότι ἄν τις χρείαν εἶχεν, vv. 44, 45.

(7) The Vulgate translates: perseverantes in doctrina apostolorum et communicatione fractionis panis et orationibus.

Subapostolic Writers

There are few traces of the use of the word in the next age; none in Clement; Ignatius has κοινὴ ἐλπίς three times, κοινὸν ὄνομα once, κοινῇ three times adverbially of common or public action in the Church, εἰς τὸ κοινόν once of ministering to the Church, ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ once (*Polyc.* 4. 3) of a common Church fund. Nothing more. The *Epistle to Diognetus*, 5, says τράπεζαν κοινὴν παρατίθενται, ἀλλ' οὐ κοινήν, with a play on the double sense of the word "in common" or "unclean".

Justin Martyr uses κοινωνία with a descriptive genitive in *Ap.* II. viii. 5: καὶ ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω εἰ μὴ ἀνηνέχθησαν ὑμῖν αἱ κ. τῶν λόγων, ἕτοιμος καὶ ἐφ' ὑμῖν κοινωνεῖν τῶν ἐρωτήσεων.

In the Dialogue with Trypho he has κοινωνεῖν ἁπάντων of Christian liberality in contrast with Jewish exclusiveness. In a disparaging sense he has οὐ γὰρ εἰς κοινὸν ἄρτον οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν, in his description of the Eucharist, and desires that Christians abstain from certain kinds of food as κοινά.

In Irenaeus we have κ. followed by a descriptive genitive: *πρὸς τῆς συζυγίας κοινωνίαν* (*adv. H.* I. i. 18); and by a partitive: *ὅσα τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν τηρεῖ φιλίαν, τούτοις τὴν ἰδίαν παρέχει κοινωνίαν. κοινωνία δὲ Θεοῦ, ζωή, καὶ φῶς, καὶ ἀπόλαυσις τῶν παρ' Αὐτοῦ ἀγαθῶν*, an obvious parallel to 2 Pet. i. 4.

And similarly *τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν δυνάμεων* in the Marcosian Creed is clearly partitive. Cp. I. vii. 2: *ὅσας ἀξίας ἡγεῖται μετόχους τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ.*

The construction with a preposition is given in the Latin version of IV. xxxi. 2: si quis...non recte dividat eam quae est ad proximum communionem, representing the Greek *ἐὰν μὴ ὀρθῶς διέλῃ τὴν πρὸς τὸν πλησίον κοινωνίαν.*

And Irenaeus, when describing the agreement of Anicetus and Polycarp to differ about the date of Easter, says: *ἐκοινώνησαν ἑαυτοῖς* (Euseb. *H.E.* v. 24), meaning that Anicetus allowed Polycarp to celebrate the Eucharist.

Athenagoras, *Leg.* xii.

With *πρός*:

τίς ἡ τοῦ Παιδὸς πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα ἑνότης, τίς ἡ τοῦ Πατρὸς πρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν κ.;

Third Century

Origen:

With *πρός*:

ἵνα ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη τῇ πρὸς τὸ θειότερον κοινωνίᾳ γένηται θεία (*c. Cels.* iii. 28).

φήσομεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγκαλοῦντα τῷ περὶ τῆς μακαρίας ζωῆς λόγῳ καὶ τῷ περὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον κοινωνίας (*ib.* iii. 80).

Dionysius of Alexandria:

With *πρός*:

μὴ τοῦτο εἶναι μηδὲ ὅλως ἔχειν πρὸς ταῦτα κοινωνία (ap. Euseb. *H.E.* VII. 9).

τοῖς μέλεσι πᾶσι τήν τε πρὸς ἄλληλα κοινωνίαν περιέβαλε (*Praep. Ev.* xiv. 26).

With partitive genitive:

τὴν τοῦ θανάτου διάδοσιν καὶ κοινωνίαν ἐκτρεπόμενοι (*H.E.* VII. 22).

Liturgies

St Mark: *εἰς κ. μακαριότητος ζωῆς αἰωνίου καὶ ἀφθαρσίας.*

St Basil: *εἰς ἑνὸς Πνεύματος τοῦ Ἁγίου κ.*

St Chrysostom: *εἰς κ. τοῦ Ἁγίου Σου Πνεύματος.*

Fourth Century

Basil:

Partitive:

ὁ μέντοι ἁγιασμὸς...τὴν τελείωσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπάγει διὰ τῆς κ. τοῦ Πνεύματος (*ib.* xvi. 38).

Descriptive:

ἱκανῶς παραδηλοῦν τὴν κ. τῆς φύσεως τοῦ τικτομένου πρὸς τὴν γεννήσασαν (*de S. S.* v. 12).

ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς θεότητός ἐστιν ἡ ἕνωσις (*ib.* xviii. 45).

With πρός:

ἡ δὲ 'σὺν' τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν κοινωνίαν τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐξαγγείλει (*ib.* xxvii. 68).

Gregory of Nyssa:

Partitive:

ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς...ἐν κ. τοῦ φωτὸς γίνεται (*Or. Catech.* 5).

τῷ αὐτεξουσίῳ κινήματι τοῦ κακοῦ τὴν κ. ἐπεσπασάμεθα.

κοινωνία τῶν κατὰ ἁμαρτίαν παθημάτων γίνεται τῇ τε ψυχῇ καὶ τῷ σώματι (*ib.* 8).

εἴπερ τὸν ἀπαθῆ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν πρὸς κ. πάθους ἐλθεῖν διορίζονται (*ib.* 16).

With πρός:

ἡ δὲ τοῦ νοῦ πρὸς τὸ σωματικὸν κ. (*de Hom. Opif.* 15).

Cyril of Jerusalem:

Partitive:

τούτου τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος τὴν κ. ἐχαρίσατο (*Cat.* xvii. 12).

τὸ οὖν ἐπιορκιστὸν ἔλαιον σύμβολον ἦν τῆς κ. τῆς πιότητος τοῦ Χριστοῦ (*ib.* xix. 3).

κἀμοὶ...διὰ τῆς τοῦ ἀλγοῦς κ. χαρίζεται σωτηρίαν (*ib.* xx. 3).

ἐκείνη γὰρ κοινωνίαν ἔσχε δαιμόνων, αὕτη δὲ κοινωνίαν Θεοῦ (*ib.* xx. 6; cp. 1 Cor. x. 16).

With πρός:

τίς σοι πρὸς τοὺς ἀνελπίστους κοινωνία; (*ib.* xvi. 6).

The rule in Greek theological writers is therefore the same as that in the New Testament, namely, that when a genitive follows κοινωνία it is either possessive, partitive, or descriptive, and that "communion with" is expressed by the use of a preposition. This rule is commonly also maintained by Latin writers but the exceptions are rather less infrequent.

Partitive:

Niceta, *de Symbolo*, 10. Ut communionem vitae perpetuae impertiret.

Aug. *c. Ep. Parmenian.* ii. 8. Communione sacramentorum, sicut dicitis, contaminantur.

de Civ. Dei, i. 35. Connexos communione sacramentorum nec secum futuros aeterna sorte sanctorum (where "sacramentorum" is a partitive and "sanctorum" a possessive genitive).

Serm. 214. Malos...tolerat in communione sacramentorum.

With *cum* or *inter*:

Serm. 71. xii. 18. Vos voluerunt habere communionem et inter vos et Secum.

Passio Perpet. i. Ut...communionem habeatis cum sanctis martyribus et per illos cum Domino Jesu Christo.

Cp. St Aug. *Ep.* XLIII. vii. 9. Sed postquam...experti sunt cum Caeciliano permanere communionem orbis terrarum, et ad eum...communicatorias litteras mitti...cur se ipsi ab innocentis orbis terrarum communione praeciderent, cum... sinerent episcopo quem...ordinassent a toto orbe non communicari...totus orbis non eis communicat.

Thus Zahn's statement that ἡ κοινωνία τῶν ἁγίων "could only be interpreted as 'participation in the holy things'"[1] may be too strong; the genitive might conceivably be possessive, but it would undoubtedly be a strain on the Greek to make it mean "communion with holy persons", and though no number of instances could prove that this translation was absolutely impossible, they do illustrate what was the prevailing usage. And the stylistic or grammatical argument is reinforced by the theological. If, as would seem to be the case, the early Church inserted into the Creed only statements of those objective facts on which it held that salvation depended; and if, as was undoubtedly true, the Greek theological mind of the first four centuries was occupied all but exclusively with the consideration of such facts, then κοινωνία τῶν ἁγίων could not be a statement of what Christians did. The early Church emphasized, as we see by the instances quoted, the need of participation in Christ or in the Holy Spirit, but the intercommunion of Christians was a by-product of this common participation.

1 *Articles of the Apostles' Creed*, p. 197.

VI. The Early Interpretation

Having thus excluded certain impossible, or at least improbable, interpretations, we come to one which in the fourth century we may regard as established, even though some later Latin writers departed from it.

(1) *The Council of Nîmes* 394

The Canon of the Council of Nîmes runs:

In primis quia multi, de ultimis Orientis partibus venientes (*sc.* Manichaeans) presbyteros et diaconos se esse confingunt...(qui) sanctorum communione speciae (speciem?) simulatae religionis (*add* sibi) impraemunt (imprimunt): placuit nobis (*add* ut) si qui fuerint ejusmodi ...ad ministerium altari (altaris) non admittantur.

Here there can be no doubt that what the presbyters and deacons were trying to obtain was the *ministerium altaris*. The action of these Manichaeans could claim in its favour the Canons of the Council of Sardica (343). A bishop if deposed might, except in special cases, enjoy λαικῶν κοινωνία, Can. 1. To a legitimate bishop on travel συγχωρητέον εἶναι κρίνω...συνέρχεσθαι καὶ λειτουργεῖν, Can. 12; this was the ἐπισκόπων κοινωνία, cp. Julius' letter (340) τί...ἔδει ποιεῖν ἡμᾶς, ἢ ἔχειν αὐτὸν (Marcellus), ὥσπερ καὶ εἴχομεν ἐπίσκοπον καὶ μὴ ἀποβάλλειν τῆς κοινωνίας, and the letter of Irenaeus to Victor, καὶ τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων, ἐκοινώνησαν ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεχώρησεν ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὴν εὐχαριστίαν Πολυκάρπῳ. So Charisius at the Council of Ephesus (431) complains of some presbyters of Constantinople that ὡς αἱρετικὸν τῆς κοινωνίας καὶ λειτουργίας ἐκώλυσαν, "forbade him to minister and refused to communicate him."[1]

Compare with the action of the Councils of Sardica and Nîmes the following passages:

Quapropter facere te oportet plenissimas litteras ad coepiscopos nostros...ne ultra Marcianum...insultare patiantur...qui jam pridem jactat...quod...*a communicatione se nostra segregaverit*, cum Novatianus...ad nos...legatos misisset optans *ad communicationem nostram admitti*, hinc...sententiam retulerit, se foris esse coepisse

1 Mansi, IV. 1343.

nec posse a quoquam nostrum sibi communicari, qui...*profanum altare erigere* et...*sacrilega contra verum sacerdotem sacrificia offerre tentaverit*....Sufficiat multos illic ex fratribus nostris...*excessisse sine pace* (Cyprian to Pope Stephen, *Ep.* lxviii).

Addimus...ut etiam *si qui presbyteri aut diaconi*...*contra altare unum atque divinum sacrificia falsa ac sacrilega offerre conati sint*, eos quoque hac conditione suscipi, cum revertuntur, ut *communicent laici* et satis habeant *quod admittuntur ad pacem* (Cyprian and his Council to Stephen, *Ep.* lxxii).

Qui sic magna et caelestia ecclesiae munera haereticis concedit... quid aliud agit quam *communicat eis*...? Et frustra jam dubitat in caeteris quoque consentire eis...ut et simul cum eis conveniat et orationes pariter cum eisdem misceat et *altare ac sacrificium commune constituat* (Firmilian, of Pope Stephen, Cypr. *Ep.* lxxv. 17).

Quid enim humilius...ut venientibus non solum *pax et communio*, sed et tectum et hospitium negaretur? (*ib.* 25).

Council of Antioch, 341, canon 11. If a bishop, priest, or any other ecclesiastic presumes to go to the Emperor without the consent of and letters from the bishops of the eparchy, and especially from the metropolitan, *ἀπόβλητον γίνεσθαι, οὐ μόνον τῆς κοινωνίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀξίας, ἧς μετέχων τυγχάνει.*

So Basil orders in Canon 16 of his letter to Amphilochius:

Διάκονος ἐν χείλεσι μιανθεὶς καὶ μέχρι τούτου μόνου ἡμαρτηκέναι ὁμολογήσας, τῆς λειτουργίας ἐπισχεθήσεται, τοῦ δὲ μετέχειν τῶν ἁγιασμάτων μετὰ τῶν διακόνων ἀξιωθήσεται· τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ πρεσβύτερος. εἰ δέ τι τούτου πλεῖον φωραθείη τις ἡμαρτηκώς, ἐν ᾧ ἂν εἴη βαθμῷ καθαιρεθήσεται.

If a bishop or presbyter held that a layman was a heretic, the public act by which he signified the fact was by refusing to give him communion; if he were a deacon or presbyter, by refusing to admit him *ad ministerium altaris*; if a bishop, by refusing to allow him to celebrate the mysteries; and *per contra*, the public act by which testimony was given to their orthodoxy was by admission to the privileges of their respective ranks. To "excommunicate" was quite literally to cut off from participation in the eucharist.

(2) *The Sermon "Simbolum graeca lingua est"*

This sermon probably belongs to the first quarter of the seventh century and the neighbourhood of the Lake of Constance, near which was the monastery of St Gallen, whence,

through Bâle and Belfort, there would be an easy connexion with Vésoul. The explanation which it gives of *sanctorum communionem* is "Ibi est communicatio sancta (per invocationem) Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, ubi omnes fideles diebus dominicis communicare debent".

(3) *Basil and Chrysostom*

The words occur in Basil (*Regulae brevius tractatae*, Interrog. cccix) in the phrase τολμᾶν εἰς κοινωνίαν τῶν ἁγίων προσέρχεσθαι, meaning "to dare to make one's communion", but a similar usage is found in a set of canons attributed to the Council of Constantinople,[1] most of which are paralleled in the third Canonical Epistle of Basil to Amphilochius:

Basil, *Ep.* CLXXXVIII. Canon 3. Διάκονος...ἀπόβλητος μὲν ἔσται τῆς διακονίας· εἰς δὲ τὸν τῶν λαϊκῶν ἀπωσθεὶς τόπον, τῆς κοινωνίας οὐκ εἰρχθήσεται.

Canon 1. ἀκοινώνητος ἔσται τῶν ἁγιασμάτων...τότε μεθέξει τῶν ἁγιασμάτων. (= Basil, Canon 57.)

Canon 6. κωλυθήσεται τῆς τῶν ἁγιασμάτων κοινωνίας. (= Basil, Canon 61.)

Canon 21. εἰ μὲν λαϊκοὶ εἶεν...ἔδοξεν ἐξοδεύουσι μὲν αὐτοῖς τῶν μυστηρίων μεταδίδοσθαι.

τῆς συνάξεως ἀπαρτισθείσης μετὰ τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων κοινωνίαν ἐπὶ κοινὴν πάντες ἦεσαν εὐωχίαν. Chrys. *In I Ep. ad Cor. Hom.* XXVII. 1.

Here τὰ ἅγια, τὰ ἁγιάσματα, and τὰ μυστήρια are treated as synonyms, as they are in the Liturgies.

Thus in the Liturgy of St James the deacon says: ὅπως γένηται ἡμῖν ἡ μετάληψις τῶν ἁγιασμάτων Αὐτοῦ; while the priest says, ἐπὶ τῇ μεταλήψει τῶν ἀχράστων μυστηρίων. The Liturgy of St Basil has ἀποδεχόμενοι τὴν μερίδα τῶν ἁγιασμάτων Σου, the Apostolic Constitutions μεταλαβεῖν τῶν ἁγίων Σου μυστηρίων, and along with these we must take the regular phrase τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις which Cyril of Jerusalem, his namesake of Alexandria, and Chrysostom explain to mean that the consecrated elements are for holy persons.

And as τὰ ἅγια is used liturgically by itself, so also is κοινωνία; thus Eusebius says of the Montanists (*H.E.* v. 16. 11): οὕτω δὴ τῆς τε ἐκκλησίας ἐξεώθησαν καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας εἴρχθησαν,

1 *J.T.S.* XV. pp. 164–167.

and quoting Hippolytus (*ib.* 28. 4) Victor Θεόδοτον... *ἀπεκήρυξε τῆς κοινωνίας.*

Indeed this use of *κοινωνία, κοινωνεῖν, κοινωνικὰ γράμματα, ἀκοινώνητος, ἀκοινωνησία* is too common to need illustration.

(4) *Augustine*

In Latin *κοινωνία* in this sense is translated according to the taste of the particular author either by *communio* or *communicatio* (cp. *communicatio sacra* in the sermon *Simbolum graeca lingua est*), the other words being *communicare, excommunicatus, excommunicatio.*

In place of *sanctorum* Augustine generally prefers *sacramentorum* which he seems to use in the plural both of the eucharist: "sicut etiam in hoc paradiso, id est ecclesiae, solent a sacramentis altaris visibilibus homines disciplina ecclesiastica removeri" (*de Gen. ad litt.* XI. xl. 54) and of more than one sacrament: "Utrum in unitate et eorundem communione sacramentorum mali contaminant bonos" (*Retract.* II. 17), and sometimes he adds an epithet: "quamvis...Dei sacramenta communicet cum eis cum quibus in communione divinorum sacramentorum manebat" (*cont. Crescon.* III. xxxvi. 40).

On the other hand he can use *communio* by itself: "Et illud non est tacendum, etiam cognitos malos bonis non obesse in ecclesia, si eos a communione prohibendi aut potestas desit aut..." (*Ep.* 87).

He only once appears to use *communio sanctorum*, and then it is in this liturgical sense: "Et removit istos (the Patripassians) ecclesia catholica a communione sanctorum, ne aliquem deciperent, ut separati litigarent" (*Serm.* lii. 6), "excommunicated them"; cp. the quotation just given from Eusebius about the Montanists. The conclusion that *sanctorum* is here neuter is rendered all but certain by comparing other passages:

Multi tales sunt in *sacramentorum communione* cum ecclesia et tamen non sunt in ecclesia....Sicut ergo jam denuo *communicans* nondum insertus est: sic et antequam visibiliter *excommunicetur*, quisquis contra veritatem...inimicum gerens animum, jam praecisus est (*cont. Donat. ep.* 74).

Si ad te quisquam catechizandus venerit...difficillimum omnino est ut non multa nostrarum scripturarum litterarumque cognoverit, quibus jam instructus ad *sacramentorum participationem* tantummodo venerit (*de Catech. Rud.* viii. 12).

Sanctam quoque ecclesiam...honorate...: quae malos in fine separandos, a quibus interim discedit disparilitate morum tolerat *in communione sacramentorum* (*Serm.* ccxiv. 11).

Natalis...dixit:...quod haeretici *communicationem* habere nobiscum non possunt, nisi ecclesiastico baptismo baptizati fuerint.

Communicationem, credo, eam dicit, quae pertinet ad columbae societatem: nam *in participatione sacramentorum* procul dubio *communicabant* eis, neminem judicantes, nec a jure *communionis*, aliquem, si diversum sentiret, amoventes.... Certe enim non *communicet* haereticus, nisi ecclesiastico baptismo baptizatus (*de Bapt. cont. Donat.* VII. xlvii. 93).

No one reading these passages together can doubt that *communio*, *communicatio*, *participatio sanctorum* or *sacramentorum* means the same thing as the Greeks called κοινωνία τῶν ἁγίων, ἁγιασμάτων, or μυστηρίων.

(5) *Niceta of Remesiana*

In the light of this evidence we approach the Sermon of Niceta of Remesiana. The whole passage runs:

Post confessionem beatae Trinitatis iam profiteris te credere sanctae ecclesiae catholicae (*al.* sanctam ecclesiam catholicam). Ecclesia quid est aliud quam sanctorum omnium congregatio? Ab exordio enim saeculi sive patriarchae, Abraham et Isaac et Jacob, sive prophetae, sive apostoli, sive martyres, sive ceteri justi, qui fuerunt, qui sunt, qui erunt, una ecclesia sunt, quia una fide et conversatione sanctificati, uno Spiritu signati, unum corpus effecti sunt: cujus corporis caput Christus esse perhibetur et scriptum est. Adhuc amplius dico. Etiam angeli, etiam virtutes et potestates supernae, in hac una confoederantur ecclesia, apostolo nos docente, quia *in Christo reconciliata sunt omnia, non solum quae in terra sunt, verum etiam quae in caelo.* Ergo in hac una ecclesia credis te communionem consecuturum esse sanctorum. Scito unam hanc esse ecclesiam catholicam in omni orbe terrae constitutam, cujus communionem debes firmiter retinere. Sunt quidem et aliae pseudo-ecclesiae, sed nihil tibi commune cum illis, ut puta Manichaeorum, Cataphrigarum, Marcionistarum, vel ceterorum haereticorum sive schismaticorum quia jam desinunt esse ecclesiae istae sanctae, siquidem daemoniacis deceptae doctrinis aliter credunt, aliter agunt, quam Christus Dominus mandavit, quam apostoli tradiderunt. Credis deinde Remissionem peccatorum. Haec est enim ratio gratiae quia credentes, Deum et Christum confitentes, consequuntur per

baptisma remissionem suorum omnium peccatorum. Unde et regeneratio dicitur, quia plus homo innocens et purus redditur, quam cum de matris suae utero generatur. Consequenter credis et Carnis tuae resurrectionem et Vitam aeternam. Revera enim, si hoc non credis, frustra in Deum credis. Totum enim, quod credimus, propter nostram credimus resurrectionem. Alioquin, *si in hac vita tantum speramus in Christo, sumus* vere, ut ait apostolus, *miserabiliores omnibus hominibus*, quando utique ad hoc Christus carnem suscepit humanam, ut communionem vitae perpetuae mortali nostrae substantiae impertiret.

There is a natural tendency to imagine that *communio sanctorum* near the middle of the paragraph bears the same sense as *sanctorum omnium congregatio* at the beginning. This is, however, obviously untrue of the phrase as a whole; it would amount to saying that in the *sanctorum omnium congregatio*, the Church, you will obtain the *sanctorum communio*, the Church again; Niceta clearly cannot mean this. Nor can we assume that even the word *sanctorum* by itself has the same meaning in both passages. That interpretation would be natural if the second use of it were in a phrase coined by Niceta; an author might be expected not to use a single word in two distinct senses near together, if in both cases the word were his own; but in the second case *sanctorum communio* is a phrase of the Creed which Niceta is quoting. Nor is the choice of the word *sancti* in the first instance determined by the phrase following. Niceta has interpreted *sancta ecclesia catholica* in the Creed to include the patriarchs, prophets, and angels, whom he could not denominate by the alternatives *Christiani* or *fratres*, but who would all be covered by the word *sancti*. This inference is therefore unjustified, and must not be allowed to bias our interpretation.

"In the Catholic Church alone", says Niceta, "you will obtain the *communio sanctorum*. You must hold fast to your membership in it. There are other false churches, you have *nihil commune cum illis*. Christ took human nature that He might give us *communio vitae perpetuae*". *Communio* in the last instance means participation in. In the instance next preceding, it means "membership in", and is not something to be acquired, as given from outside, but something to be retained, as already possessed; between these comes *nihil commune cum*, "nothing in

common with". It would seem to follow that *communio sanctorum* is like *cujus communio* and *communio vitae* and unlike *commune cum illis*; that is, the grammatical probability is in favour of *participation in*. But not conclusively so. *Sanctorum* may be a possessive genitive, that *communio* which the *sancti* possess and the heretics do not. But if we ask what it is that the orthodox have and the heretics have not, Niceta furnishes the answer; the heretics do not hold the faith which Christ taught, nor practice the *actiones* which He prescribed. Niceta is not decrying the morals of heretics; they have been deceived by the teaching of devils, so that they have no true faith and no proper *actiones*, and in both respects they differ from the Church. It is difficult not to see in Niceta's language a reference to the common reproof against them, that they imitated or parodied both the Christian Creed and the Christian sacraments. Besides a right faith, the Eastern Church and Africa, in common with the West, claimed an exclusive possession of sacraments. Tertullian, *de Bapt.* 15, says: "There is to us one and but one baptism, as well according to the Lord's gospel as according to the apostle's letters, inasmuch as (he says) 'One God, and one baptism, and one church in the heavens.' But it must be admitted that the question, 'What rules are to be observed with regard to heretics?' is worthy of being discussed. For it is to *us* (catholics) that that assertion refers. Heretics, however, have no fellowship in our discipline, whom the mere fact of their excommunication testifies to be outsiders". And it is difficult also not to think that the *actiones* prescribed by our Lord were, in Niceta's thought, baptism and the eucharist. "I received of the Lord Jesus that which I also delivered unto you", says St Paul, and the word *apostoli* in Niceta clearly means primarily St Paul, as the quotations from his epistles show. Moreover, Niceta's Creed, which he is translating, reached him from Asia Minor, and Creeds owed their elaboration to opposition to heretics; they stated a truth dogmatically, but the facts stated were, at any rate beyond the bare skeleton, largely selected with a controversial purpose. And in Eastern Creeds *communio sanctorum* occupies for the most part the position taken in other

examples by *βάπτισμα*, and baptism was often emphasized as "one" in the same way as Tertullian asserts.

Thus in the Council of Nîmes, in the sermon *Simbolum graeca lingua est*, and in St Basil, the meaning of the phrase is definite and unambiguous; the phrase itself would seem to go back to Asia Minor before the time of St Basil, probably to the time of Irenaeus. Is not Niceta's homily to be placed in the same group?

VII. Later Interpretations

In later times the phrase in the Creed received a different interpretation in the West, but the arguments employed show that this meaning was not early, and they are confronted by the considerations both theological and grammatical which we have brought forward.

Faustus of Riez

We notice already a change of meaning in the homily of Niceta. In the New Testament all Christians are *ἅγιοι* by virtue of an act of divine consecration; from the second century onwards *ἁγία* is almost a standing epithet of the Church as successor to the privileges of the "holy" people; but in Niceta it is suggested that the Church derives its holiness from its members, and not *vice versa*, and these are holy not by virtue of a divine act of consecration, but rather by virtue of their creaturely correspondence with grace. This conception is carried a stage further in Faustus, who seems to distinguish between the catholic Church and the *sancti* who belong to it, and to narrow the denotation of this latter term to martyrs.

> Credamus *et* sanctorum communionem, sed sanctos non tam pro Dei parte, quam pro Dei honore veneremur...colamus in sanctis timorem et amorem Dei, non divinitatem Dei; colamus merita, non quae de proprio habent sed quae accipere pro devotione meruerunt. Digne itaque venerandi sunt, dum nobis Dei cultum et futurae vitae desiderium contemptu mortis insinuant.[1]

Here the clause is being used in favour of the growing cultus

1 Caspari, *Anecdota*, I. p. 338.

of the martyrs, which the Aquitanian priest Vigilantius had vainly sought to check.

In another Gallican sermon the defence becomes an intemperate censure of the Vigilantian party. "Illos hic sententia ista confundit qui sanctorum et amicorum Dei cineres non in honore debere esse blasphemant, qui beatorum martyrum memoriam sacrorum reverentia monumentorum colendam esse non credunt. In symbolum praevaricati sunt et Christo in fonte mentiti sunt."[1] "This extravagance was due to local and temporary causes, and disappeared with them; but wherever the new clause travelled, the tendencies of the age secured the transmission with it of the later interpretation."[2]

Another homily, falsely attributed to St Augustine (App. *Serm.* 242), which is worked into the *Missale Gallicanum vetus*, and seems to have been authorized in some Gallican dioceses for use at the *Traditio Symboli*, reads: "*Sanctorum communionem*: id est, cum illis sanctis qui in hac quam suscepimus fide defuncti sunt, societate et spei communione teneamur"; where we notice the two constructions, of *communio cum* and *communio* with a dependent genitive.

Sermo 240 puts the meaning entirely into the future: "*Sanctorum communionem*: quia dona Sancti Spiritus licet in hac vita diversa sint in singulis, in aeternitate tamen erunt communia in universis, ut quod quisque sanctorum minus habuit in se, hoc in aliena virtute participet".

But in Sermon 241 we seem to get back to the earlier meaning: "Credentes ergo sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorum habentes communionem, quia ubi fides sancta, ibi est sancta communio, credere vos quoque in corporum resurrectionem et remissionem peccatorum oportet. Omne sacramentum baptismi in hoc constat, ut resurrectionem corporum et remissionem peccatorum nobis a Deo praestanda credamus". In this sermon both Kattenbusch and Zahn hold that *sanctorum communionem* must mean communion in holy things; and here also we have the same collocation of faith and sacraments which we

1 Caspari, *Alte und neue Quellen*, p. 273.
2 Swete, *Apostles' Creed*, p. 85.

find in Niceta. The sermon is generally supposed to be Gallican, but Kattenbusch thinks it was known to Priminius and may possibly be Irish.

Though overlaid, this earlier meaning persisted locally. Peter Abelard (*Expos. in Symb. Ap.* Migne, P.L. CLXXVIII. 630), after offering other explanations, adds: "Possumus et *sanctorum* dicere neutraliter, id est, sanctificati panis et vini in sacramentum altaris". Ivo of Chartres (*ib.* CLXII. 606) combines both interpretations: "id est ecclesiasticorum sacramentorum veritatem cui communicaverunt sancti".

A trilingual MS. in Anglo-Saxon, Norman-French, and Latin in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge (R. 17) *c.* 1125 gives

> Halegan hiniennesse
> La communion des seintes choses
> Sanctorum communionem.

In the *Lay Folk's Mass Book* (thirteenth century) we read:

> Wel I trow in tho holi gost,
> And holi kirc that is so gode;
> And so I trow that housel es
> bothe flesshe & blode.

In *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede* (late fourteenth century):

> And in the heigh holly gost · holly y beleue,
> And generall holy chirche also · hold this in thy minde;
> And in the sacrament also · that sothfast God on is,
> Fullich his fleche & his blod · that for us dethe tholede.

The Sarum *Office for the Visitation of the Sick* comprises both meanings: "Dearest Brother, dost thou believe in...the communion of saints; that is that all men who live in charity are partakers of all the gifts of grace which are dispensed in the Church, and that all who have fellowship with the just here in the life of grace have fellowship with them in glory?"[1]

Pearson[2] says *κοινωνία τῶν ἁγίων* may be as well understood in the neuter as the masculine, and instances

> Ἐξαρεῖ Ἀαρὼν τὰ ἁμαρτήματα τῶν ἁγίων (Ex. xxviii. 34).
> καὶ ἁμάρτῃ ἀκουσίως ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων Κυρίου (Lev. v. 15).
> καὶ προσεχέτωσαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ (Lev. xxii. 2).
> Ἄρχοντας τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἄρχοντες Κυρίου (1 Chr. xxiv. 5).

1 Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* I. 92.
2 Note (*c*) on this Article in his *Exposition of the Creed.*

The Catechism of the Council of Trent (*P.I.* IX. p. 25) says that *sanctorum communio* is a kind of explanation ("veluti explicatio quaedam") of the article on the Church, but continues: "Hac autem sanctorum communione sacramentorum communionem intelligi debere Patres in symbolo significant illis verbis: Confiteor unum baptisma. Baptismum vero in primis eucharistia, et deinceps caetera sacramenta consequuntur".

VIII. Conclusion

All the available evidence seems to point to Asia Minor for the origin of this phrase in the Creed. The Creed of Niceta doubtless came thence to Remesiana; the Creed of Armenia was also imported from the same region. The limitation of the phrase to localities at or near the great road which ran to Spain and Northern France, and the movement of other Creed phrases along it from East to West, tell the same tale. Moreover, though the official Christian language of Nîmes was Latin, yet the inhabitants probably also understood Greek, and that was the means of communication with those coming from the far East; the Creed of Remesiana came to it in Greek and Niceta is translating it, or using a previous translation, to a Latin-speaking audience; St Basil of course wrote Greek, and in Greek Armenia was evangelized.

Nor is it difficult to understand the purpose of the incorporation of the phrase into the Creed. The Creeds of Asia Minor, as Creeds elsewhere, were positive in language, but to a large extent controversial in the motive of their enlargement. It is to this that we must almost certainly ascribe their repetition of the word "one" in its various connexions.

"Oneness" is insisted upon by St Paul for the most part in controversy with Judaistic teachers. Accordingly, when at a later date protest was raised against heresy, the language to be employed was already at hand. This stage was reached at least as early as the letters of Ignatius. In his epistle to the Ephesians we read:

Some are wont of malicious guile to hawk about the Name.... These men...are mad dogs, biting by stealth; against whom ye ought to be on your guard for they are hard to heal. There is one only Physician of flesh and spirit...Jesus Christ our Lord.

In the epistle to the Trallians, 6, 7:

I exhort you, therefore...take ye only Christian food, and abstain from strange herbage, which is heresy; for these men do even mingle poison with Jesus Christ....Be ye therefore on your guard against such men....He that is within the sanctuary (ὁ ἐντὸς θυσιαστηρίου) is clean, but he that is without the sanctuary is not clean.

And against heresy Ignatius insists on the maintenance of unity:

It is profitable for you to be in blameless unity, that ye may be partakers of God always (*Eph.* 4).

Abstain from noxious herbs, which are not the husbandry of Jesus Christ....Not that I have found divisions among you, but infiltration....As many as shall repent and enter into the unity of the Church, they also shall be of God (*Philad.* 2).

Be ye careful therefore to observe one eucharist (for there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ and one cup unto union in His blood; there is one altar (θυσιαστήριον) as there is one bishop together with the presbytery and the deacons my fellow-servants), that whatever ye do, ye may do it after God (*ib.* 5).

"Of all the fathers of the Church, early or late, none is more incisive or more persistent in advocating the claims of the threefold ministry to allegiance than Ignatius....Yet with himself this subject, prominent as it is, was secondary....The ecclesiastical order was enforced by him almost solely as a security for doctrinal purity. The unity of the body was a guarantee of the unity of the faith" (Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, Pt II, vol. I, pp. 39–40).

Mark ye those that hold strange doctrine touching the grace of Jesus Christ which came to us, how they are contrary to the mind of God....They abstain from eucharist and prayers because they allow not that the eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Let no man do ought of things pertaining to the Church apart from the bishop. Let that be held a valid eucharist which is under the bishop or one to whom he shall have committed it. Wheresoever the bishop shall appear there let the people be, even where Jesus may be, there is the universal Church. It is not lawful apart from the bishop either to baptize or to hold a love-feast (*Smyrn.* 6 and 8).

It is therefore fairly certain that the "oneness" of the Church and the "oneness" of baptism were insisted on in the Creed

as protests against heresy; and this language went back to the time of Ignatius to whom we may also trace the use of the epithet "catholic". But Ignatius did but emphasize language already familiar through the Epistles of St Paul. If we were to select from the Pauline Epistles phrases which speak of the one common heritage of the Church we could in fact construct a formula having a close resemblance to the later Christian Creed.

There is one faith (in)
One God the Father of all
One Lord Jesus Christ
One Spirit
One Church
One Baptism
One Bread
One hope of our calling, i.e. everlasting life.

It is therefore highly probable that the Marcosian Creed represents a Christian Creed enlarged from the baptismal formula in opposition to heresies of a docetic or gnostic type; and it is noticeable also that the phrase "communion of saints" not only occupies the place taken in most Eastern Creeds by baptism, but that the three Eastern Creeds, those of Jerome, Niceta and the Armenian Creed, which contain the words "communion of saints", contrary to common Eastern usage omit the mention of baptism, while the Creed of Priscillian, which possesses other Eastern features, and is somewhat later than that of Niceta, has *In sanctam ecclesiam*, *Spiritum Sanctum*, *Baptismum salutare*, but not "communion of saints". It would look as if baptism were already implied in the corresponding phrase, and along with baptism—including the confirmation which completed it—the eucharist. Certainly if some Eastern Creeds made belief in baptism a point of faith, there is nothing strange if others put with baptism the second great Christian sacrament under a common designation of the two. Τὰ ἅγια is a regular expression in the Liturgies for the consecrated elements; the actual phrase κοινωνία τῶν ἁγίων occurs in St Basil, and its equivalent in the Canon of the Council of Nîmes, though there

it is used to include not merely the *jus communicationis*, but also the *ministerium altaris*.

Throughout the sermon of Niceta the liturgical reference is unmistakable. Put together *In hac una ecclesia credis te communionem consecuturum esse sanctorum; Credentes...consequuntur per baptisma remissionem peccatorum...Haeretici sive schismatici ...aliter agunt quam Christus Dominus mandavit, quam apostoli tradiderunt....Ad hoc Christus carnem suscepit humanam, ut communionem vitae perpetuae...mortali nostrae substantiae impertiret*, and compare with this last clause, which is almost certainly based on a phrase in the Liturgy itself, *οὕτως καὶ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν μεταλαμβάνοντα τῆς εὐχαριστίας μηκέτι εἶναι φθαρτά, τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς εἰς αἰῶνας ἀναστάσεως ἔχοντα* (Iren. *adv. Haer.* IV. xxxi. 3), and with the former: *οἱ γὰρ ἀπόστολοι... οὕτως παρέδωκεν ἐντετάλθαι αὐτοῖς· τὸν Ἰησοῦν λαβόντα ἄρτον κ.τ.λ.* (Justin, *Ap.* I. 67), and "Eucharistiae sacramentum et in tempore victus et omnibus mandatum a Domino sumimus" (Tert. *de Cor. Mil.* 3).

The allusions are covert and suggestive rather than explicit, but that is precisely what we should expect. Niceta's homily is more than once reminiscent of Cyril's catechetical lectures, and Cyril says: "Nor before catechumens do we discourse plainly about mysteries; but many things many times we speak in a covert manner, that the faithful who know may understand, and that those who know not may receive no harm" (vi. 29).[1] If the faithful who were familiar with "holy things to holy persons" in the Liturgy and with the meaning of "communion", "communicate", "excommunicate", heard Niceta say that only in the catholic Church was to be obtained "*communionem sanctorum*" they would hardly hesitate as to what meaning was to be attached to the phrase. It is at any rate certain that the meaning "communion with the saints" was introduced later when the cult of the martyrs was coming into vogue, and that the words "the saints" meant in earlier times all Christians. Nor is it at all easy to say that *communio sanctorum* is that *communio* which Christians have as such. The possessors

1 Cp. Tert. *Apol.* vii; Basil, *de Spirit. S.* xxvii; Lact. *Inst.* vii, xxv; *Can. Hipp.* 29 and 30.

of the *communio* would be spoken of not distributively, but corporately, as "the Church"; the fact that the two words are used would be nearly sufficient in itself to show that a distinction of meaning was intended; the participation which the Church possesses and heretics do not is "participation in the holy things"; and this distinction is emphasized when the two phrases "the holy catholic Church" and "the communion of saints" are separated either in actual position or in distribution into sections.

For those who think that there is an inner logic which lies behind the structure of the Creeds, the mention of "baptism" or "the communion of saints" fills what would otherwise be a logical hiatus. The work of salvation is stated to be accomplished in our Lord by the end of the second paragraph; it is regarded as the possession of believers in the closing words "eternal life", or the "life of the coming world"; but there is nothing to state the means by which the benefits won by Christ are bestowed.

The present writer cannot help feeling that we are haunted by a sort of semi-pelagian subjectivism. Our minds are dwelling disproportionately on what we can or ought to do. Our idea of God is in danger of becoming an idea of a God who is merely there as an object to be looked at, contemplated, and admired, but not that of a God who at the cost of immeasurable self-sacrifice takes, has taken, and will take, a part in the history of the world and of the life of the individual, the power and effectiveness and importance of which it is impossible to exaggerate. It is in consequence difficult for us to throw ourselves back into the mind of the Church in earlier ages, when it was God and His mighty works which the Christian was exhorted to study, and by studying to learn the art of worship. Yet this is the entire burden of those hymns of thanksgiving, the Creeds. These facts, as at least the Church held them to be, are there stated as manifestations of God's glorious power, and the foundations of Christian hope. It is not the merits or efficiency of our fellows that the Church invites us to think about or demands that we should recognize, but certain characteristic acts of God, whom it proclaims as the Creator, the Ruler, and the Saviour of the world.

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